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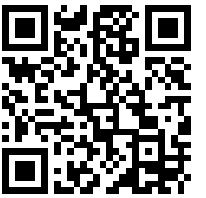

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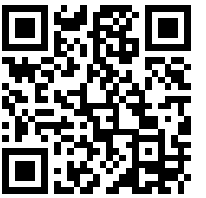

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Walter French

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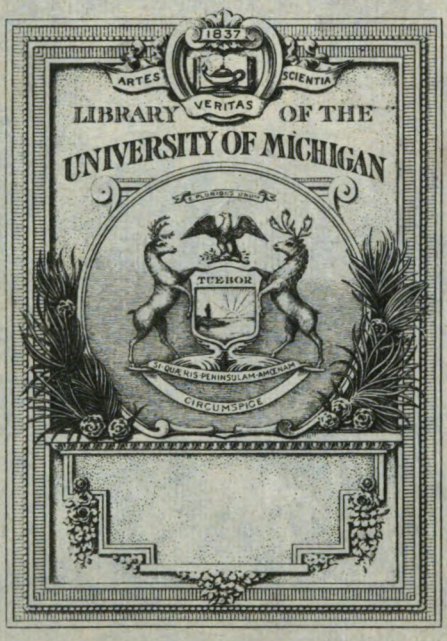

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Mediaeval Civilization as Illustrated by the Fastnachtspiele of Hans Sachs

by

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Part I.

The Early Fastnachtspiele

Foreword. Since the Fsp is a form of literature created by the people for their own diversion, it is but natural that it should reflect the life and thought of the age in which it flourished — the Germany of the early sixteenth century. This is particularly true of the Fspe of Hans Sachs, in that it is not only the lower classes, with which the author was so familiar, that have been characterized. The nobility, clergy, and similar classes are not ignored; they are revealed as they appeared to their less favored brethren. The gross, unfair caricatures of the early Fspe are not missing in the plays of Sachs, but in the main they are merely exaggerations of dominant traits that have ever been characteristic of the classes represented. What Sachs has given us is the never-ending struggle between the classes, which, in its essentials, does not change. My purpose is simply to present the pageant of Nürnberg life through the medium of her leading literary figure, due allowance being made for his prejudices, the influence of his sources, and the immediate purpose of the individual play.

Literary Predecessors of the Fastnachtspiel. As my concern is with people and not literary types, I shall not attempt an elaborate history of the Fsp. To trace the Fsp to an earlier stage than that of the Keller collection would be dangerous and, for the purpose of this study, of little value. As Creizenach[1] has observed, the origin of the comic drama in Germany is by no means as clear as that of the serious drama. A few of the factors most generally recognized as having a share in determining this literary form are the pantomimes of the minstrels,[2] the per-

[1] Creizenach, Wm., „Geschichte des neueren Dramas", Vol I, p 379, and ff.

[2] Devrient, E., „Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst". Leipzig. Vol I, p 92.

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formances of the mimi or dancers,[3] as well as the presentations activities in honor of princes and nobles. Also the alternating songs of the returning crusaders, telling of their deeds and the wonders seen, could not have been without influence in helping form a popular drama.[4]

Dramatic elements were also not lacking in the early debates or Streitgedichte. Contests in dialog form took place between Spring and Summer (Aesop), Wine and Water, Body and Soul etc.[5] In the vernacular we find the question being discussed by Reinmar von Zweter. "Ob Milch oder Wein der bessere Stoff sei". Comic glorifications followed.[6] König von Odenwald praised straw, the hen, and the goose to match the minnesinger's lark, thrush, and nightingale. The earliest Fspe have many such debates: Leben und Tod, Seelmann, 3, 4; Lügenmärchen, 8, 9; Solomon und Markolf, 60; Jugend und Alter, 59; Fastnacht und Fasten, 5, 72, 73; Mai und Herbst, Sterz XVI; religious debates, Keller 1, 106. Similar to the debate is the riddle or Rätselstreit.[7] In Keller there are three examples of this type, 25, 63, 103.

Creizenach[8] also mentions the dramatic elements in the comic festivals of the church (cf the Boy Bishop), the comic episodes in the religious drama, and, to a lesser extent, the customs of the people.[9] At Nürnberg a custom had gained favor as a means of celebrating Shrovetide. Tradition is authority for the statement that in 1350 the cutlers and butchers of Nürnberg, as a reward for remaining faithful at the time of the rebellion of the guilds

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[3] Devrient, p 92.

[4] Devrient, p 93.

[5] Jantzen, Hermann, „Geschichte des deutschen Streitgedichtes im Mittelalter". Germ. Abhandl. Breslau. 1896. Vol XIII. p 92—96.

[6] Jantzen, p 92—96.

[7] Jantzen, p 94.

[8] Creizenach, I, p 390—391.

[9] Creizenach, p 390, note 2. The importance of folk customs in determining the form of the early comic drama has often been exaggerated. The Bibliography, under „Origin of the Fsp" gives a list of authorities holding the „barbarian" theory, that places emphasis upon the feast of death, sword dance, Morris dance, dance of death, perchtenlauf etc as sources of the Fsp.

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(1348—49) were given permission to hold an open dance at Shrovetide.[10] The result was the Schembart-Laufen. The participants in this festivity wore eccentric costumes and wore masks, although the faces of Schembart-Läufer are visible in their pictures.[11] While the Schembart in time passed out of the hands of the guilds to the sons of rich Burgers,[12] the artisans did not cease to have a share in the Fastnacht revels. Simple themes came to be treated in words, such as their love affairs, why they came in harness, or why they were all dressed in blue. Young artisans were given permission to go about disguised as Moors and repeat their rhymes. Cf Keller 14, Morischgentanz.[13] The Schembart-Läufer and the Fastnachtspieler were distinct groups but in time the Fsp completely overshadowed its rival. At a time when Sachs was enjoying the favor of Nürnberg, the Schembart ceased to exist (1539), presumably on account of ridicule by minister Dr. Andreas Osiander.[14]

Territorial Distribution of the Early Fastnachtspiele. While Fspe are preserved from many cities in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, they may be divided into four territorial groups: Tyrol, with Sterzing as the center; Swabia and Switzerland; Nürnberg; and the Low German with Lübeck as center.[15] Since the Fspe of Sachs are the direct outgrowth of these earlier forms, especially those belonging to the Nürnberg group, a brief outline of their chief features will be given to show the advancement made by Sachs with respect to characterization of the period, craftsmanship, and nobility of purpose.

Forms of the Early Fastnachtspiele — the Revue Form. The revue plays are the direct result of the Fastnacht procession and

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[10] Hampe, Th., „Entwicklung des Theaterwesens in Nürnberg". Nürnberg. 1900. p 11—12.

[11] Genée, Rudolph, „Hans Sachs und seine Zeit", p 208.

[12] Hampe, p 17.

[13] Hampe, p 11.

[14] Hampe, p 13.

[15] Creizenach, Vol I, p 406, note 3. cf also Holstein, H., „Zur Topographie der Fspe". Z. für dt. Phil. Vol 28, p 104—108.

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according to Creizenach[16] were originally only introductions to a dance. cf. Keller 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 21 (?), 22, 37, 51, 56, 59, 62, 64, 95, 103(?), 106, 120. These revues were usually presented at an inn or private dwelling (in Frankfort in 1455 on a firm scaffold out of doors; in the Lowlands on wagons). A formal opening is given by one of the number, known as Precursor, Einschreier, Herold, Vorlaufer, or one of the characters in the revue, as Der erst Paur, der erst Narr.

Keller 123. „Eyn guoten abend, all geleich,
Wie jr hie seyt, arm oder reich."

The landlord, his wife, and the guests are greeted, and silence is commanded.

Keller 87. „Schweigt ain weil und redt nicht."

Sometimes the Einschreier apologizes for coming late, 47, 75, 79, 104. After the formal introduction, the nature of the play is told by the Einschreier, whether it will be a court scene, marriage, or a debate. He occasionally asks for food and drink, 104, warns the people not to be afraid, 50, Sterz XIII, and also warns the people that the play may be a little offensive. The purpose of the Einschreier, apparently, was to hold the attention of the audience while the house was being prepared for the plays, cf Keller 1.

Little is given in the Fspe about the costumes worn. In 36 the second speaker says his hair is black like a horse's tail, his ears reach to his cheeks, his eyes glisten like a goat's, his nose is like a stick, his hands are white as a bear's, his feet are like an ass's.

After the completion of the play the Ausschreier, or similar character, gives the conclusion, bidding the audience farewell, and apologizing if he has "zu grob gesponnen", 23, 24, 68. The generosity of the host is appealed to, 13, 81, 104, or his blessing is asked, 37. Before leaving, the company sometimes promise to return the next year, 106; frequently they make way for another troupe, 108.

Kinds of Revues. 1. Narren revues. In these the characters tell why they have been fools. They are given comic names and enjoy telling about their love escapades, 13, 26, 32, 38, 44, 116.

[16] Creizenach, Vol I, p 408, note 1.

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2. Contests for prizes. Frequently there is a prize at stake: apple, 14; cock, 67, 89; jewel, 16, 33; Narrenkappen, Sachs (20). In 100 the revue is the enumeration of prizes to be given at a wedding.

3. Court Scenes. These are of many types. One variety deals with the complaint of one man against another, 10, 24, 69, 88, 112. In 24 and 112, for example, the main humor consists in the sentences imposed. They are cruel and vulgar. Cf also 10, 88. Sometimes women complain against their husbands. These complaints frequently have to do with neglect, 27, 40, 42, 61, 101, Sterz II: or overindulgence, 29. To court plays also belong 108, where three young men are called to account for their misdeeds, and 71, where six people complain at having to go to confession.

4. Domestic Quarrels. Closely related to the court scenes dealing with the family question are the plays in which there is a fight between husband and wife, as in 19, which has the same moral as Sachs's Heiss Eisen, (38). However the tables are turned when the husband complains of his wife's unfaithfulness. He beats her but is separated by a second peasant, who, when he interferes, is given a beating by the wife, cf Sachs's Das böse Rauch (28). The same misfortune befalls a peasant in 41 when the husband complains that his wife is a scold and is given support by a neighbor. Other quarrels occur in 5, 31, and 55. The same motive as appears in Sachs's Der tote Mann (60) is found in 117, 118, both of which tell how little the husband and wife really love one another. Seel. 1 shows the struggle for supremacy in the home (cf our "wearing the pants").

5. Marriage Revues (Brautwerbung).[17] In 104 the guests are angry because they did not get enough to eat, cf Sachs (36). In 7, 12, 58, 65, 66 fathers present their daughters to be married. The characteristics of a good husband are enumerated in 12 and 65. In 86 men tell why they did not marry. In 96 seven masters tell how the knowledge of each science is a help in wooing women.

[17] Cf Ein vasnachtspil von dreyen pawren (1461). Vier Ungedruckte Fspe des 15. Jh. Arch. für Literatur-Geschichte. Vol 3, p 1—25.

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Often the classes sue for the hand of a woman, 70, Sterz XI, XV, XVIII. In 122 seven women want one man. In 41 and Sterz V a young man is given advice concerning the proper time to get married. The marriage motive is combined with the religious question as to whether it is better for a man to be a priest or a benedict, Sterz XXV, cf Sachs (71).

6. Revue of the Classes. In 50 and 105 a variety of classes is represented. The peasants appear in 28 and 45, telling of their accomplishments; in 95 and 109 they enumerate their likes and dislikes — ridiculous and vulgar, of course. In 64 are lazy Pfaffenknechten; in 83 sons decide upon what profession they will choose, from priest to gambler. There are also quack plays, 85, 98, 101; knight revues, 47, 75, 79, in which the warriors appear cowardly.[18].

7. Fastnacht Revues. In this group are revues which show something about the purpose of the Fsp. In 103 seven characters tell why they wear the colors they do, cf Sterz XIV. In 93 they explain why they are in blue and in 99 why they are in harness.

8. Miscellaneous. In 8 and 9 one finds an enumeration of lies, in 8 and 83 the inheritance motive, while vom Dreck 23 is self-explanatory.

Transitionl Forms. Two interesting groups of old Fspe are transitional in that they resemble the Nürnberg revues and at the same time show Passion play influence. The first group consists of the Mareth und Rumpold plays.[19]. They are court scenes but not of the hackneyed type and are so true to life that the original must have been written either by a jurist or a close observer.[20] An influence of the quack scenes appears when Mareth's mother misunderstands the Latin of the court. A Swiss piece, Elsli Tragdenknaben by Niclaus Manuel (1528) is similar in theme and form. In the second group are included the Neidhart plays (Kel-

[18] Walther, C., „Das Fsp Henselin oder von der Rechtfertigkeit". Jahrbuch des Vereins für Ndd Sprachforschung. Vol III, p 9—36.

[19] Kaiser, Adolf, „Die Fspe von der Actio Sponsu". Göttingen. 1898.

[20] Michels, Victor, „Studien über die ältesten deutschen Fspe". Straßburg. 1896. Quellen u Forsch. 77, p 67—74.

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ler 21, 53) and Sachs (75). According to Michels,[21] the mediaeval influence is striking in the case of 53. He describes it as a court play in which "Minne", lost sight of in the sixteenth century plays, again has an important part. The Einschreier is the messenger of the most beautiful woman in Beiern and in Franken. At times "manig rôten mund" is found and Minne is fostered by the knight "mit Dienst und Bescheidenheit". From the frequency of the dances, in which knights and ladies, peasants and peasant women alternately take part, it is closely related to the May festival. The following Passion play motives are also found: the servant praises the wine, as Rubein does in the Passion play; there is a devil scene, following which the devils go out in search of souls. Jutte, a quack, is sent for when Engelmair is hurt.[22]

Religious influence. Several motives in the early Fspe are taken from the Passion play: the quack scene, which displayed a healing motive, a salve motive, disputations, devil scenes, and the Judas scene.

From the tendency of the Fsp to choose subjects from life and also to utilize single incidents, arose the popularity of the quack scene as material for popular plays, Keller 6, 48, 82, 85, 120, Sterz IV, XIX, XXV.[23] The healing motive appears in Keller 6, 48, 82, and Sterz XXI.[24] In the variations the servant tries his best with the salves, but when he fails, the quack succeeds by applying horse manure, cf Sachs (79). In 120 is added a misunderstanding of terms, cf Sachs (80). The salve motive finds examples in Sterz VI and XXIV[25].

Disputations of a religious nature, such as the debates in the Fspe between Sinagoga and Kirche are found in 1 and 106, where the Jews and Gentiles debate concerning their respective religions.

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[21] Michels, p 25.

[22] Gusinde, Konrad, „Neidhart mit dem Veilchen". Germanistische Abhandlungen. XVII. Breslau. 1899. cf also Ein vasnachtspil von dreyen pawren.

[23] Michels, p 52—54.

[24] Michels, p 54—59.

[25] Michels, p 59—65.

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The Jew appears also in 20, but here he is treated contemptuously from a social rather than religious standpoint. Other religious motives in the plays are the Antichrist plays 20, 68, as well as the purely religious plays found in Keller, such as Susanne, Frau Jutten, and the St George play. Devil scenes have a prominent place in 53, Frau Jutte and Das Spiel von den bösen Weibern, 56. of Sachs (18) (76). Reference to the Judas scene is found in 22 and 35.

Other sources.[26] Material for the remaining plays has been gleaned from a variety of sources. Dramatized anecdotes were the source of Domherrn und Kuplerin from Konrad von Würzburg's Alten Weibes List. This was later made use of by Sachs (57). Other examples are Kaiser und Apt, 22, Edelfrau und Bauer, 46, Vom Contz Zwergen, 123, and der kluge Knecht. From the folksbook were taken Solomon und Markolf, 60, Sachs (26), Esopus, Sterz X, Sachs (85), the Aristotle plays, 128, Sterz VII. From the heroic legend came the Arthur plays, 80, 81, 127, and Dietrick von Bern 62, Sterz IX.

Authorship. Hans Rosenplüt.[27] The two names most prominently connected with the authorship of the old Fspe are those of Hans Rosenplüt and Hans Folz. Rosenplüt, called the Schnepperer or Schwätzer, was born early in the fifteenth century and was a lifelong resident of Nürnberg. He led a varied life, in which military service was an important feature. Although he was uneducated he had a good knowledge of the arts and sciences and was a popular writer, his Fspe being his most important work. In everything he wrote he shows the Nürnberg of his time, its coarseness not being underemphasized. Notwithstanding his failings as an artist he was the most gifted and most versatile poet of the masses until the time of Hans Sachs. The only Fsp signed by Rosenplüt is 100, but Keller would also ascribe to him 16, 39—42, 45, 47—49, 65—104, 116.

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[26] Creizenach, p 412—13.

[27] Roethe, „Allgemeine deutsche Biographie". Vol XXIX. Hampe p 18; Michels, p 119 ff; Creizenach, I p 420.

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Hans Folz[28] was a late contemporary of Rosenplüt and an early contemporary of Sachs. He was born at Worms but became barber at Nürnberg, where he also had a press on which he printed his own productions. His name is signed to 1, 7, 38, 43, 44, 60 and 112. Creizenach would add 2—4, 8, 20, 22, 32, 35, 37, 51, 55, 106, 120. In content his plays can not be distinguished from those of Rosenplüt, but his dialogue is better, the dramatic action more fluent, and the meter more carefully worked out than is the case with the other writers of the period. Most of the Folz plays were of the revue type, but a few, 1, 20, 37, 106, show a complicated action. From a literary standpoint he probably had more influence on Sachs than did Rosenplüt.

Survey of the classes. That the old Fspe are deficient in cultural history is apparent if a survey is made of the classes represented in the plays of the Keller collection. As pointed out by Creizenach[29] the various classes are treated unfairly. The old woman, for example, did not occupy a very honorable position.[30] She always has the Nachthunger, and is very hideous and avaricious, never a real comfort to her husband, but at all times a termagent and scold, 31. Praise of faithfulness is, however, given in Luneten Mantel, 81.

„Lob haben alle raine Weib
Die den iren zarten leib
Allein den machen untertan
Den sie zu rechten lieb son han."

Cf. Ein vastnachtspil von dreyen pawren.

Contempt for the peasant is also a favorite motive. It is not goodhumored but scornful. "Die Bauern erscheinen in den Fastnachtspielen stets als abgeschmackte, rohe, schmutzige Gesellen, angethan in grobe Stiefeln und Mützen, mit Peitschen, Schaufeln, Mistgabeln in den Händen, schon durch entsprechende Namen, wie Schlottenpauch, Huntzkrantz, Heintz Mist, Apfel, Mischschlund,

[28] „Allgemeine deutsche Biographie", Vol VII. Hampe, p 19—22; Michels p 214—37; Creizenach, p 421.

[29] Creizenach, I, p 416—18.

[30] Creizenach, I, p 416.

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Jeckel, Schmutzindiegelten gezeichnet."[31] In isolated cases the peasant comes into his own. In 51 it is stated that as Adam was a peasant the class should not be scorned. The peasant is also favorably treated in Solomon und Markolf and Kaiser und Apt.[32] In these cases it is of course the conflict of wisdom and mother wit, rather than a real glorification of the peasant.

Prejudice against the Jews is present. In 1 and 106 the prejudice is largely religious, but in Herzog von Burgund, 20, it is most assuredly raceprejudice.[33].

The clergy are not always sympathetically drawn, although they are not made sport of to the extent they are in the plays of Sachs, cf Domherr und Kuplerin, and Berthold in 66.[34]

The knights fare no better than the other classes. In the play of the Pope, Cardinal and Bishop they are charged with all kinds of robbery. In 75 and 79 they are cowardly.[35]

Decline of the Old Fastnachtspiele. With the beginning of the sixteenth century and the growth of Humanism in Germany the old immoral Fspe began to lose influence. It was felt that lofty ideals should deal with lofty people and not with those of baser stamp.[36] Since the people as a whole could not become familiar with the new trend of thought, it was fortunate that the masses produced a man who was capable of grasping the essence of Humanism and of presenting it to the people in terms well known to all.[37] Thus it has been said that Hans Sachs, the Nürnberg shoemaker, was the most representative man of his times.[38] He was thoroughly conversant with the conditions under

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[31] Creizenach, I, p 417.
[32] Creizenach, I, p 418.
[33] Creizenach, I, p 419.
[34] Creizenach, I, p 418.
[35] Creizenach, I, p 418.
[36] Hampe, p 37—39.
[37] Lier. Leonhard, „Studien zur Geschichte der Nürnberger Fspe". Nürnberg. 1889. p 37—38.
[38] Schweitzer, Ch, „Étude sur la vie et les oeuvres de Hans Sachs". Paris. 1887. p 413

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which his fellows lived and was not afraid to expose the evils as he found them.

Sachs chose the Fsp as a chief means of doing his teaching as the form was familiar to the people, who could enjoy their favorite form of amusement and at the same time, unconsciously, be morally uplifted. Sachs, however, desired to amuse as well as teach,[39] and drew from the old Fspe and other sources for material that would be interesting.

Sachs excelled his predecessors chiefly with respect to the character of material, the technic of the play, and the poetic expression and delineation of character.[40] With the technic we are not concerned at present. As regards material, however, the greatest improvement was in the lessening of the immorality of the Fsp. Admitted that the popular sense of propriety of the times was bad, and that Shrovetide was a time when many licenses were accepted,[41] we wonder what the standard was when we find recorded that a Nürnberg statute of 1468—9 provided a fine of three guelden for "unzüchtige und unzimliche wort oder geperde."[42] With Sachs the material, to a large extent, was worked over to free it from anything that might be offensive. While we find frankness, we do not find grossness in plays that he himself published. Neidhart (75), probably the most vulgar, was not published until after his death.[43]

As far as the delineation of character is concerned, his characters seem more natural, and the conversations have a greater reality than do those of the early Fspe. The language of his characters is that which he heard with his own ears, and an effort, not always successful, has been made to distinguish individuals through the language they speak.[44]

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[39] Goedeke u Tittmann, „Dichtungen von Hans Sachs". Leipzig. 1883 Vol 3. Intro. p XII.

[40] Goedeke u Tittmann, p X.

[41] Hampe, p 23.

[42] Creizenach, I, p 416.

[43] Goedeke u Tittmann, p XIII.

[44] Goedeke u Tittmann, p I.

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Relation of Sources to Sachs

In the earlier plays[45] of Sachs the author has not perfected a technique of his own and the sources have been followed more closely than in his later plays, the main difference being that here the moral is never overlooked. Among the sources of his first fifteen plays (1517—1540) are: the old Fspe and poems for (2) (3) (4) (9); Brant's Narrenschiff, (5) (6) (8) (11); Pauli (to some extent) (5) (7); Plutarch, (14).

Beginning with (16), however, Sachs begins to draw from an entirely new source, Boccaccio[46] (except for names in (1) and other early plays). Thirteen plays are founded upon the Decameron, which Sachs found in the Steinhöwel translation,[47] (16) (23) (26) (27) (41) (42) (43) (45) (46) (53) (62) (81) (84). Pauli is represented in (19) (22) (24) (25) (49) (51) (58) (60) (63) (64) (73) (83); Steinhöwel's Aesop, (32) (61) (65) (74) (85); Gesta Romanorum, (31) (56) (61); Eulenspiegel, (51) (58) (72) (77). These include the sources most frequently used by Sachs. Before examining the Fspe of Sachs to discover the cultural history revealed, a word is necessary to explain to what extent the foreign influences remain in the plays. This phase of the subject has been treated comprehensively by Dr. Eugen Geiger[48] and only a few general results will be enumerated.

It is typical of Sachs to change the setting of the sources to make it German. In all the plays from the Decameron, except (23) and (84) the names are German and even in the latter play the characters are German not Italian.[49] At other times painters are transformed into peasants (16) (62), an Italian knight

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[45] For sources see Stiefel, A. L. „Über die Quellen der Hans Sachsischen Dramen". Germania 36. p 1—64. Germania 37, p 203—24.

[46] Mac Meechan, A., „The Relation of Hans Sachs to the Decameron". Halifax. 1889.

[47] Bib. des Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart. Vol 51.

[48] Geiger, Dr. Eugen, „Hans Sachs als Dichter in seinen Fastnachtspielen". Halle. 1904.

[49] Geiger, p 242.

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becomes a robber knight (27), and foreign settings are Germanized, (41) (42) (43).[50]

He also endeavors to improve the characterization of the sources and to make an indistinct figure a typically German one. Take for example the care that the man in (49) takes not to get near his wife. In the source he was not so careful. The attempt of the woman in (46) to open the door with a key is superior to that of the source, in which she tries to kick the door in.[51] The woman in (62) has a will of her own, which Nicolosa in Boccaccio does not.[52] Minor characters are differentiated, as with the three women in (72);[53] in the source they are figureheads. In (27) the servants are individualized, which is not the case with Boccaccio's story.[54]. The suitors in (35) are different. The same is true of (84), in which the one is a pessimist and the other an optimist. In this play even the watchmen are differentiated.[55]

As has been mentioned before, Sachs desired to teach as well as to amuse, and consequently changed his sources to bring about this result. In (42) the peasant is locked up to satisfy the avarice of the abbot and not because the priest loves his wife, as in the source. This change has made the play more moralistic and given an excellent opportunity for a covert attack on the priesthood. The woman in (45) plays a trick on her husband because he is jealous without cause and not because she has a lover- a change for the better in motive.[56] Sachs seeks to teach in (16) (28) (41) (42) (45) (81) (83) (84). He preaches against godlessness in (19) and in (53) he has changed a simple tale into an attack upon the Catholic church.[57].

Foreign matter retained. When Sachs deals with ancient history or with the legends, he has found it impossible to make

[50] Geiger, p 241.
[51] Geiger, p 292.
[52] Geiger, p 306.
[53] Geiger, p 307.
[54] Geiger, p 315.
[55] Geiger, p 315.
[56] Geiger, p 215.
[57] Geiger, p 216.

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his characters thoroughly German, and these Fspe stand out distinctly as unproductive of material concerning the times, except in so far as Sachs gives his impressions of virtues and vices common to all men, and in that sense touches upon the universal, cf (30) (44) (47) (50) (71) (73) (85). In (24) and (68) German and allegorical figures are introduced, and in (3) and (78) Germans and Jupiter. But all except (23) and (84) taken from any source not ancient are German.

Prejudices of Sachs. In his treatment of his sources as well as in his original material Sachs shows himself to be a product of the times in a literary as well as a religious way. His aversion for Catholics and his treatment of stock characters both must be taken into consideration in deciding how much he contributes to our understanding of the people of his day. Allowance for prejudice will be made in the survey of the classes.

The following symbols are used to distinguish the Fastnachtspiele.
(84) — The Fspe of Sachs.
1,4 etc. The old Fspe, in the Keller collection.
I,V, etc. The Sterzing plays (Raber).
Nd 1,2 etc. The Lübeck plays.

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Part II.

Nürnberger Types as Revealed by Sachs

In the Fastnachtspiele of Sachs we find represented all the classes of society, from the noble to the vagabond, that may be considered representative of the Nürnberg of the early sixteenth century. While their customs, thoughts, and ideals are revealed in detail, we are given more than a mere photographic sketch of the times; the author is never forgetful of truth, and those traits are emphasized that have ever been characteristic of the types described. The point of view of Sachs is, therefore, not a simple one. He assumes the part of the casual bystander who is making articulate the observations of the common man; but the conclusions drawn are those of the thoughtful idealist. This dual point of view on the one hand accounts for the gross caricatures of the priest, the peasant, and the like, and at the same time makes plausible the evidences of an attitude of mind which, on many subjects, is modern rather than mediaeval.

In three ways does Sachs contribute to our knowledge of the age: by outlining the distinctive characteristics of the classes, by revealing the external life of his contemporaries, and by reflecting the mental life of his people.

THE NOBLE

Sachs does not attempt to give a complete picture of the life of the ruling class; he desires, merely, to set off the nobility in contrast with the submerged classes that it may be evident how unfairly the burdens of the world are being distributed. To illustrate his point he is as likely to choose a classical ruler as he is a German noble of his own day. The following Fspe with a German setting have references to the nobility: (1) (2) (15) (27) (35) (43) (61) (75) (81) (83); in plays with a foreign setting: (30) (44) (47) (50) (71) (73) (85).

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The duties of the aristocracy, according to Sachs, are to rule wisely and to protect the land and people, (3) l 391—94; (15) l 90—92; (52) l 188—190. In each case the complaint is made that these duties have not been fulfilled; in fact the noble has oppressed the people, rather than protected them, (9) l 87; (78) l 33. In some instances the noble has degenerated into a confessed robber.[1] (27)

As Sachs never forgets his mission of reformer, although a kindly one, he does not overlook the opportunity to find a lesson in the evil effects of overambition on the part of the ruler, (7) l 358; (30) l 185 ff; (44) l 311 ff; (47) l 311 ff. Likewise the extravagance and vices of the privileged class are intended to serve as a lesson to his audience of the necessity of moderation in living. (cf. Living Conditions, Amusements, etc.)

THE PRIEST

As a staunch supporter of Luther, Hans Sachs delighted in ridiculing the priest. While the priests of Sachs are more worthy of contempt than those in the sources from which the material is taken,[1a] yet he was no more hostile than his immediate contemporaries. As Drews says,[2] the contempt and hatred for the priesthood was general and may be seen from the pictures as well as from the literature, "Unbildung und Rohheit, Habgier und grobe Sinnlichkeit, Genußsucht und brutales Wesen charakterisierten den geistlichen Stand". With all the ridicule of the priesthood, there is only one play in which a direct attack on the Catholic church has been made (53), and even here we are led to believe that the object of his satire is this particular Inquisitor and this one cloister, not the entire institution.[3]

Throughout the Fspe Sachs endeavors to make us believe that he is merely reflecting what the people themselves think of the priest rather than giving us his own opinion. In no play, however,

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[1] Gerdes, H., „Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes". Leipzig. p 65—67.

[1a] Geiger, p 268.

[2] Drews, Paul, „Der evangelische Geistliche". 1905. p 13.

[3] Geiger, p 274.

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is the priest really a sympathetic character. Only his worst failings, avarice, immorality, ignorance, and lack of true religion, are emphasized. He shows that all classes, especially the peasant, have been abused by the priest, and since the advent of Luther have shown less respect for the cloth than before.

There are numerous instances in the Fspe where the source has been changed to make the priest appear in a more ridiculous light. For example, Pauli never speaks as disrespectfully of the priest as does Truth in (24). In the source to (27) the abbot has a retinue; in Sachs he is accompanied only by a Pfaffenknecht.[4] In the source to (58) the priest beats the waitress, while here they fight. In the source to (37) the priest is invited to the home of the peasant women, but here he comes uninvited and is shown to be of low character.[5]

With Sachs there is nothing about the priest to enlist our admiration. He is not considered a holy man and practically every evil trait is ascribed to him.

In his private life he is a riotous liver (9) l 64—66; (13) l 195; (27) l 185 ff; (53) l 188—9, and at the same time he is notoriously lazy, (9) l 75 ff; (13) l 155 ff. The most characteristic feature of his private life, the one most frequently referred to by Sachs, is his immorality. In the following plays he is either guilty of immorality or is mentioned as a disturber of domestic relations: (9) l 71; (10) l 101; (12) l 174; (19) l 218; (21) l 264—265; (37) l 7 ff; (38) l 159; (54) l 9; (56) l 40; (57) l 36 ff; (58) l 237; (62) l 413; (65) l 284; (69) l 4 ff; (72) l 375.

As the sacristan says in (69) l 113—14:

„Wer sein Haus halten wil gar saüber
Huet sich vor Pfaffen und vor Taüber..."

The priest as a lovemaker is always described as being uncouth to the extreme. In 54 l 55—56 he is big-mouthed, bent over (bucklet), lame, one-eyed, and resembles a goat in odor. In (37) l 268 ff a similar description is given. The most common

[4] Geiger, p 269.
[5] Geiger, p 271.

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epithet applied to him is "laussing Pfaffen", (34) l 306; (54) l 58; (60) l 188. The trooper (13) l 211—13 shows his contempt for the priest by calling him:

„Den schmaichler, gleisner und den hewchler,
Den dueckischen, hemishen meuchler,
Ein poes kraut uber all krewter."

The peasant (65) l 317 tells him:

„So wis, du pist ein hüeren pfaff,
Fürwicz und gneschich wie ain aff,
Selten ler und allezeit vol."

As a priest he is no better regarded than as a man. He is, above all, avaricious, being willing to do anything for the sake of gain. Of the priest in (51) it is said, l 283—4:

„So er ein pfenning auß geben sol,
So schawdt er in vor dreyman wol."

He himself says, l 264, "Kupffer Gelt, kupffer seelmess". His mind is only on sausages and money l 207—16, and he volunteers to help Eulenspiegel only when he is promised a reward l 308. In (9) l 61—2 his hopes for gain are from "Kirchwey, aplass,[6] creutzfart, wallfart". The inquisitor (53) recounts, at length how he is able to make a substantial living by catching alleged blasphemers, l 48 ff:

„Wo sich erhüb ein Ketzerey,
Von Reychen, armen, jung odr alt,
So hab ich Bepstlichen gewalt,
Dem selben ein straff zu benennen,
In zu würgen oder verbrennen,
Oder in ein presaun zu schaffen,
Oder umb ein Summa gelts zu straffen,
Darmit ich den gemeinen Man
In große forcht gesetzet han,
Das mir ein weil durch list und renck
Sehr viel helküchel, gab und schenk
In meinem beutel hat getragen."

The lower class of clergy often fell so far below the requirements expected of the profession as to practice the black arts. The vagabond priest (schotten pfaff) in (77) makes use of the black art to mystify the peasants, l 45 ff:

„Ich laüff umb auf der thermaney,
Umb steür ich pawren an schrey
Und auch die pewrin in den dingen,
Sag, ich wöl mein erste mes singen.

[6] Freytag, Gustav, „Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit". Leipzig. 1892. Vol II, p 38.

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Darzu hab ich gesamelt zwar
Nün doling pis ins siebent jar;
Wan ich pin leichnam seicht gelert,
Mein künst mir gar leichtlich entpfert.
Ich darff in kain schwais pad nit siczen;
Ich fuercht, mir würt mein kunst ausschwiczen.
Ein deütschen herren geb ich schon;
Wan gar wenig latein ich kan.
Also im lant ich umher reis,
Die pawren ich laich und pescheis,
Henck ainem an hals ain wüntsegen —
Also nert ich mich meine tag
Mit pawren pscheisen, wo ich mag,
Pettl und stiel ain wenig darzu,
Das ist mein handel spat und fru."

The priest also appears as conjuror in (34) l 217 ff; (41) l 220 ff; (51) l 347 ff. In (34) and (51) he is required to cast out devils, while in (41) he has a charm, whereby he may discover who has stolen a side of bacon.

In addition to being unscrupulous the priest is represented as being ignorant. In (77) l 56 he confesses that he knows little Latin; also l 301—2 in the same play, the peasants observe:

„Mich düncket, mein domine,
Wie ir kaüm künt das a. b. c."

The peasants in (65) l 320—23, tell the priest,

„Kanst weder singn noch lesen wol.
Der schrift pistu geleret seicht
Und trüezt allain auf pann und peicht,
Weist uns ein weg, den selb nit gest."

An example of the priest's Latin is given in (51) l 218. In answer to Eulenspiegel's "Bona Dies" the priest replies, "Beneueneritis, semper quies". Cf also (58) l 82.

The threat of excommunication, formerly so feared by the people, has become a joke with the peasants of Sachs. Through the influence of Luther they have begun to realize of how little significance the Bann is. The contempt for the Bann is shown in several of the Fspe. In (27) l 148 the nobleman replies to the threat of excommunication by saying, "So wöllen wir ind Erbeis gahn".[7] Similar replies are made in (53) l 256—7; (54)

[7] Erbeis, Grimm — „Heißt das herumstreifen und auf den feldern erbsen essen".

Handschin, Charles H., „Das Sprichwort bei Hans Sachs". Bull. U. of

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l 15—16; (65) l 266; (77) l 300. The priest in (9) l 52 laments that the Bann has lost its effectiveness.

In other respects the priest has suffered through the influence of the Reformation. The priest (51) l 208 complains that the peasants do not offer him any more sacrifices nor give him any sausages. In (9) l 50—54 the priest says that he no longer gets money for Seelmess (mass for the dead) or Beichtgelt (confession) and that he often has to fast. In (13) l 153 ff he must collect haller, flax, and cheese the same as any other beggar. He is cursed by the peasant women and is compelled to eat bread and drink water. He says, l 157—8,

„Ich sol arbeiten, sie mich plagen
Und thun mir stez vom Luter sagen."

The Inquisitor (53) l 418 ff also laments the change in attitude towards the church. Supplementing what has been said before he adds, l 423—5:

„Unser Betrug ist worden laut,
Derhalb der Lay uns nicht mer traudt
Und streinet stets umb in der Bibel."

Many of the stock expressions of the day showed the popular contempt for the priesthood. The maid in (4) l 85—6 says:

„Bin ich doch nicht der Babst zu Rom!
Kein gnad, ablaß nye von mir kom."

(8) l 142: "Ich sol ein Priester wern?"

Only occasionally does Sachs show a priest who is not a discredit to his profession. In (42) the monk and abbot cure a man of jealousy, but they have to resort to a trick to accomplish their purpose, l 128 ff. Even here Sachs contrives to emphasize the trickiness of the clergy. The peasant asks Herr Ulrich how the peasants are brought into purgatory, and the latter says that the feat is beyond him, making the work of the abbot the more impressive.[8] In (70) the Waldbruder at first appears to be pious. He watches, serves God with chastisement, sleeps on a hard bed

Wis. No. 103. 1904. p 31 suggests that it is a play on words, Bann being pronounced almost like Bohn(e). The underlying idea. expanded, would be, „So will ich in die erbeis gahn, auffs das ich nit dürff bones essen".

[8] Geiger, p 270.

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and had foresworn carthly honor. Being a priest, however, he yields to temptation at the first sight of a large sum of money.[9]

THE MERCHANT CLASS

The merchant class is frequently alluded to by Sachs, representatives appearing as important characters in the following Fspe: (13) (19) (23) (32) (66) (74) (78); the merchant is also mentioned in (52) l 199—204 and in (70) l 118—21.

The Kaufmann. At the time of Sachs, as today, there was a great difference between members of the selling profession. The wealthiest and most respected was the Kaufmann, many of whose activities are mentioned by Sachs. Since little business was done by correspondence, the merchant having personal supervision over the purchase of his wares, extensive travelling into foreign parts was necessitated. This is true of Sachs's Kaufmänner: (23) l 3 ff; (78) l 151—153, while the Lord in telling one of the sons of Eve that he is to become a merchant adds, (52) l 201—2,

„Und solt bringen allerley war
Von eim Landt in das ander dar."[10]

While on these trips the merchant was always in danger of robbery, either on land or sea. Merchants many times complain of losses incurred in this way:[11] (23) l 282—3; (78) l 153—55; in (70) l 118 the murderers would like to meet a merchant. The danger was so great, that as Steinhausen[12] says, merchants often travelled in large bands by way of protection.

Another source of annoyance was the Zoll, charged by the cities where the goods were to be sold. It was at times exhorbitant, the profits earned by trading not being considered honest.[13] Sachs makes one reference to the Zollhaus (23) l 226.

Once the goods were ready to be placed on sale the merchant

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[9] Biedermann, K., „Deutsche Volks- und Kulturgeschichte". Wiesbaden. 1901. Chap. 15. A fair characterization of the priest of the time.

[10] Steinhausen, Georg, „Der Kaufmann". 1899. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte No II, p 20.

[11] Steinhausen, p 51.

[12] Steinhausen, p 21.

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was reasonably sure of a fair profit. In (7) l 173—5 the business of the merchant is told,

„Auffs wölfeilst kauffen und thewrst gebn
Und ander geschicklikeit darnebn
Das füllt mir truhen, seck und kasten."

Nicola (23) l 13—15 and Simplicius (32) l 1 ff have sold their wares to such an advantage that they are well supplied with money. Both are, however, better versed in business than in the ways of the world. It is a kindly delight that the man of letters takes in exposing the deficiencies of the single-track mind.

The annual fairs were the centers of trade.[14] The merchant in (78) l 152 mentions attending the "mes und merck"; in (74) l 1 Simplicius leaves to attend the Frankfort fair.

While as a general rule the merchant with Sachs is successful, failure is by no means uncommon. Simplicius (74) l 5 ff has run into debt; in (19) l 1 ff the merchant finds his obligations so heavy that he is willing to sell his soul to the devil; in (78) l 159—68, when he has piled up debts, he has had recourse to the usurer, who has charged him a high rate of interest. In most cases the merchant has no one but himself to blame for the poor condition of his finances, as he tries to live beyond his means by imitating the rich (78) l 176 ff. It is that characteristic of the merchant that Sachs holds up to ridicule.[15]

Krämer. The small tradesman of the Fspe is little more than a packpeddler. He is inferior to the Kaufmann in social position but is just as essential to the trade of the times, (13) l 92 ff; (66) l 40 ff. His trials are many: he is forced to carry a pack on his back laden with hair ribbons, lace, "schlötterlein",[16] pipes, brandy, sugar, etc, (13) l 97 ff, or with cakes of all kinds, girdles, and needles, (66) l 40 ff, and, at the same time, is compelled to protect himself against robbers, as well as from ill treatment at the hands of the peasants. All details of his life of woe are enumerated by the Krämer in (13), l 101 ff:

[13] Steinhausen, p 23 ff.
[14] Steinhausen, p 27.
[15] Steinhausen, p 32.
[16] Schlötterlein — ribbons used in fastening stockings.

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„Von einer Kirchweich zw der andern
Und all jarmerck mues ich durch wandern,
In allen dörffern in dem Krais,
Den winter kalt, den sumer hais,
Bis ich mein narung thw erholn.
Auch wirt mir leichnam vil gestoln,
Als zucker und leckuchen daffeln.
Die müecken thun mir vil verpaffeln;
Vil pöser schuld hab ich pein pawren.
Oft duet ein schnaphan auf mich lawren,
Nempt mir, was ich lang hab gewunnen,
Des mues ich drincken aus dem prunnen,
Ubel essen und hart liegen,
Pis ich ein andern thw erkriegen."

The same sentiments are expressed by the Kremerin (66) l 74 ff. In the latter case their poverty has been caused by the Krämer's gambling and his wife's drinking, l 16—18, 93.

In the practice of his profession the Krämer is an adept at hoodwinking the public, by such tricks as mixing brick dust with saffran, mousedung with pepper (13) l 129 ff, by selling a radish for a mandrake and by pretending to cure people with roots that he has picked up by the wayside (72) l 107.

Closely allied to the Krämer is Ypocras, the apothecary (79) l 165 ff, who has a booth, where he exhibits for sale saffran, ginger, nutmeg, pepper, capra, and cinnamon. To draw crowds he has built a fire; he then advertises his wares by crying, "Her! her! ich gib ain guetten Kauff", l 178. In name and the nature of his work he recalls the quack and kremer of the old Fspe, cf Sterz IV.

THE PHYSICIAN

While Sachs was one of the first writers to present any physician who was other than the incompetent quack (11) (17), yet even in these two instances there are enough resemblances to the conventional quack to show that Sachs has improved on a stock type rather than originated a new one.[17] The quack had long been a comic figure in the early Fspe and in the religious dramas[18] and Sachs was too desirous of pleasing his audience to humanize

[17] Lier, p 61.
[18] Lier, p 61.

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the physician too much. Yet, for all that, the representatives of this profession seem to observe the fundamental principles of medicine as understood at that time.

Of the physicians who appear in the plays, (11); Simon (16) (17); (76); Isaac (80),[19] the latter is a professed quack. He outlines the nature of his trade, l 55 ff: after having practiced black art for many years, he realized that the peasants were more difficult to deceive and he had often had narrow escapes from personal injury. For that reason he decided to become a quack, although he had no qualifications, and had never studied medicine. He is afraid of the cities and still capitalizes the gullibility of the peasants, who are impressed by the Brief and Siegel, and accept his word for it that the testimonies are authentic. The only cure that he has is a purgative, which in its effect acts as a kill or cure.

The equipment of the quack consists of his identifying "Brief und Siegel",[20] (11) l 17; (80) l 75; glass for urine (11) ff l 45; (16) l 182; (80) l 19. For an operation the physician uses in (11) l 132—3, pincers, razor and sponges, towel and "zu labung sefft und köstlich würtz".

The various kinds of diseases mentioned by Sachs include: dropsy, (5) l 380; (11) l 39; leprosy[21] (11) l 7; gallstones[22] (7)

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[19] Cf the names of the quacks in the old Fspe, Rubein, Keller 66, Sterz XXIV; Maister Vivian, Keller 82; Ipocras, Knoblack, Sterz VI and XXIV.

[20] Cf Brant's Narrenschiff, 76 1 65ff,

„Mancher will Doctor sein,
Der nie ein Buch gelese.
Dan das er hat ein pyrment hut
Do stat sin recht gschrieben an,
Derselb brieff wisst als er kan."

[21] Peters, H., „Der Arzt und der Heilkunst". 1900. Monographien zur deut. Kulturgeschichte III, p 54—56.

Leprosy made its appearance in the twelfth century and raged until the seventeenth. It was considered incurable although serpent wine was thought to have some beneficial qualities. One who was afflicted with this disease secured the „Lazaruskleid der Demütigung" and was given the articles useful for an isolated life. They were: a black robe, on the breast of which were sewed two white bands, also a large hat with a white band, a

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l 138; (11) l 7; (15) l 291; (74) l 130; gout, (3) l 204; (11) l 8; (15) l 291; (79) l 232; coughing, (11) l 8; (68) l 379; St Vitus dance,[23] (12) l 252; (36) l 204; St Urban's plague, (4) l 431; (9) l 69; (13) l 194; (16) l 38; (22) l 178. The intermittent fever is mentioned figuratively in the sense that the three or four day fever is more to be desired than a scolding wife, because a man would have an occasional day of rest: (26) l 5—7; (28) l 13—15; (36) l 288—91. Symbolical diseases are mentioned in (11), avarice, l 171; envy, l 185; lechery, l 204; gluttony, l 221; anger, l 244; laziness, l 260.

Dieases are diagnosed by the examination of the urine,[24] (11) l 44—5; (16) l 186; (80) l 137; and by feeling the pulse, (16) l 187. The color of the patient is also an aid to diagnosis. If he is pale or yellow he is sick: (16) l 121—3; (26) l 14; (36) l 183; (50) l 172; (58) l 149. Death is indicated by the color of the one afflicted, (42) l 193—7:

„Secht ir nit, wie er ist erblichen?
All sein Krefft sint von im gewichen.
Secht nur, wie sich anspitzt sein Nasen,
Sein augen brechen im der Massen,
Sein pulss schlecht nit, er ist schon todt."

Chief among the cures was bleeding, (8) l 368; (27) l 141; (56) l 275—7. In (27) bleeding is to be done as a cure for overindulgence while in (56) it is for the removal of bad blood

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pair of gloves, a little kettle for water, a basket, and a rattle. They lived in „Siechkobeln vor den Städten oder In Hütten auf dem Felde". At certain times they were allowed to go to town to beg.

[23] The removal of gall stones was in charge of travelling quacks. called Steinschneider. Peters, p 83.

[23] St Vitus dance, also called Tanzwut, appeared in four epidemics, 1021, 1278, 1375, and 1418. It was called St. Veitztanz because St Veit was the patron saint of those afflicted. Peters p 61.

[24] The observation of the urine and pulse as means of diagnosis was in general use in the middle ages. It formed the fundamental principle of the old Salernian school. Hippocrates was the model which all the physicians copied, Peters, p 13—18.

It held sway until under the influence of humanism and the invention of printing a closer study of anatomy was made, as well as of plant and animal life. Peters, p 62—69.

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which has caused the woman to be ungovernable. Peters[25] says that the body was charted by the barber-surgeon and for different ailments, different veins were opened. The blood was extracted into wide-necked vessels of metal and glass. No anaesthetic was used by surgeons, cf (11) l 143, "Halt! halt! du thust mir weh".

Baths were recommended as curealls, although Sachs does not refer to them frequently: cf. the Wildbad, (8) l 367; (27) l 116; and the bath maid, (8) l 172.[26]

Roots were supposed to have exceptional healing qualities: (11) l 133; (76) l 100—1. In (49) l 193—6 the following medicinal roots are referred to: wormwood, fennel, bethony, camomile, celandine, basil, majoram, rue, lavender, saturei, Stabwurz. In (79) the roots are given miraculous properties, l 187 ff nutmeg is good for a blow, cinnamon for a thrust, saffran for gout, capra for one bewitched. Cinnamon in (56) l 317 is prescribed for one who is weak.[27]

Little is said about the care of the sick or the afflicted, but the hospital is mentioned, (4) l 43; (6) l 218; (26) l 398; (45) l 62; (68) l 392; also the madhouse, (46) l 210; (49) l 227. Care of the woman is not referred to although the deluded Kargas in (16) 1216 anxiously inquires if he will be in need of a wet nurse

THE INNKEEPER

The innkeeper is a popular type with Sachs and is not treated unsympathetically, possibly for the reason that many of the Fspe were presented in inns. The innkeeper appears in (9) (12) (13) (25) (51)

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[25] Peters, p 33—41.

[26] Concerning baths Peters says (p 49—52) that there were three kinds, Flußbäder, Mineralbäder, and Künstliche Bäder. In public baths all bathed together but in private baths the men and women were separated by a small partition. When the social features of the bath came to assume undue importance, the cities began to pass severe regulations concerning its use. The most famous baths of the day were: Gastein, Ems, Wiesbaden, Wildbad, Pfeffers, zum Ellnbogen.

[27] Of the healing roots mentioned by Peters, p 48, are the following: „Anis, kümmel, koriander, fenchel, nelken, zimmet, kubeln, mandeln, ingwer, pfeffer, pfirsich, weichselkern, und muscatblüte im über gezuckerten zustande".

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(53) (62) (72) (81). As usual they have suggestive names, Kunz Tragauff, (81), Hans Wirt, (51), Simon Wirt, (53); women are in charge in (62) and (72).

Without exception the innkeeper professes poverty, (13) l 1 ff; (25) l 185 ff; (51) l 67 ff; (72) l 1 ff; (81) l 113 ff. In (51) l 67 ff he says that unless there is an improvement in business he will have to eat with the cat. He explains that his poverty is due to the dearness of barley and lack of trade. In (72) l 17 ff he has brought on his own ruin by neglect of business. His wife, who has to run the inn, laments that the peasants have been allowed to run up their bills, which they cannot pay until after harvest, l 10. She expresses the innkeeper's motto, l 5—6:

„Porgen und schreiben ant Kerben
Das möcht ein reicher Wirt verderben."

According to the tavern-keepers in (25) and (81) they occupied a low social position at that time, not merely because of their poverty, but also because of the trade to which they catered. In (25) l 258 ff beggars, rascals (Spitzbuben), pack-peddlers, and Lanzknechte were admitted. The same is true of (81).

The most interesting fact pertaining to the innkeeper, and the one which might have value in placing the social position of this profession so low, was the trickery common to all proprietors of inns. It was the universal practice to put water in the beer and to overcharge, (25) l 190 ff; (51) l 241—2.

The general type of innkeeper at the time of Sachs must have been of low mentality as the innkeeper in (53) is taken as the model of gullibility. The proprietor and his wife in (51) and the wife in (72) fall easy victims of the wiles of Eulenspiegel.

That the innkeeper at times did more than merely take care of trade is indicated in (64) l 39, where he is mentioned as a money lender.

THE ARTISAN

Although Sachs's sympathies are with the laboring class, he is fully aware of their faults and is ever ready to offer constructive criticism. There are only three Fspe with a plot in which the

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artisan is the central figure, (39) (64) (82). The first of these may be considered a Gesellendrama in that it deals with a journeyman learning his trade, while (64) and (82) show the evils caused by excesses and indolence. The broadest treatment of the artisan, however, is found in the revues, especially (9) (13) (78).

One finds a great variety of trades mentioned in the Fspe. The Lord (52) outlines the work of several trades: the shoemaker, l 303 ff, the weaver, l 309 ff and others including, l 353—56, "zimmern, bawn und bachen, hossen, schmiden, drehen und ledergerben, müntzen, scheren und tuch ferben."[28] In (3) l 242 the mason is added and in (13) l 53 the saddler and harness-maker, l 54 the wagner.

In (72) l 120 ff the innkeeper's wife expects a journeyman to be able to perform the following tasks, which may indicate that on occasion he might have to be a Jack-of-all-trades:

„Ich merck, du pist ein handwercksmon,
Kanst etwan kessl und pfannen flicken,
Loffel schniczn oder garen stricken,
Schlotfegen oder protkorb machen,
Stroschneiden oder hüepen pachen,
Holczmessen oder sewen stechen,
Peutl abschneiden oder zen ausprechen,
Korblein zeün oder pessen pinden,
Hüntschlagen oder schelmen schinden,
Sew verschneiden oder hünt schern
Oder pappn haimen?"

Concerning the actual working conditions of the laborer, little is said. The carter (13) l 39 ff enumerates his misfortunes: he has to go out in all kinds of weather and often gets covered with mire, as well as his cart and horse. Accidents often occur whereby his cart gets upset or his horse dies. To make matters worse, his wife is of no assistance to him in the management of his affairs.

Instead of complaining about his own work, the artisan is more apt to complain against the oppression of the other classes. He hates above all the merchant, who demands high prices, and also the usurer, to whom he is often in debt, (9) l 132—8; (78) l 102—9. The reasons for this state of affairs are many. The

[28] At Nürnberg at this time there were about 400 recognized trades. Rehm, H. S., „Deutsche Volksfeste und Volkssitten". Leipzig. p 63.

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dissolute habits of the laborer prevent him from being able to save any money. The fact that his family exists at all may be traced to the good management of his wife, (64) l 18—19; (82) l 96. He loves drink and gambling (13) l 79 ff, and is accustomed to celebrate Monday as well as Sunday, (9) l 146—7; (64) l 9; (78) l 124—6; (82) l 95.[29] Another reason for his poverty was woman, (9) l 149—50; (78) l 127—8. Often the laborer became a Lanzknecht and went to the wars, leaving his family in distress. When he returned, having seen the ways of the rich, he tried to copy them and soon ran into debt, (78) l 135—41.[30] The principal reason, however, for the poor state of the finances of the artisan was that he overcrowded the trade by taking on too many apprentices, (78) l 128 ff; (9) l 151—8.[31] According to Mummenhoff this was especially true of Nürnberg. The usual apportionment was one apprentice and two assistants to every master. To prevent crowding, a period was sometimes established in different cities when no apprentices were taken on.[32]

In only one play (39) is any reference made to learning a trade.[33] In this play the youth, a butcher's assistant, is sent

[29] Mummenhoff, E., „Der Handwerker". Monographien zur deut. Kulturgeschichte. Leipzig. 1900. No VIII, p 70 states that guter or blauer Montag was given in order that the day might be spent by the workmen to hold meetings, or to go to public baths. When the privilege came to be abused, it was abolished.

[30] Liebe, Georg, „Der Soldat". Monographien zur deut. Kulturgeschichte, 1899. Leipzig. No I, p 24. Freytag II, p 4—5.

[31] Mummenhoff, p 109 ff.

[32] Mummenhoff, p 56.

[33] Mummenhoff p 59, for hardships which the apprentice had to undergo. The apprentice entered the house of the master and was subjected to his discipline. He often had to do the housework and consequently did not always learn his trade. His food and lodging were poor, and he was abused by all, even by the assistant, yet heavy penalties were exacted for running away unless it could be proved that the apprentice was not at fault. It was not much better with the assistant. Upon entering a new town he found out from the Schenkgesellen where there was work to be had. He usually hired for a six months' service and worked an average of from 12 to 14 hours a day. He was under the discipline of the master and was granted but few liberties.

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out into the world to gain experience. This period of travel was considered an essential, for as the old proverb says, (39) l 55—7:

„Wie das ein ungeschmaltzen kraut
Und auch ein ungwanderter gsel
Sindt nichtsen werdt."

The mother gives the familiar advice to avoid bad company and evil women, to write often, and to send word if he is ill l 65. The father gives him a paternal handclasp, and what is more to the point, a small sum of money. The youth does not meet with any striking adventures but does find that jealousy exists between artisans.

LANZKNECHT

The Lanzknecht, an important figure in Germany during the sixteenth century, is not often mentioned by Sachs, appearing as a chief character only in (2) (9) (13) and (68), although references are made to him in several other Fspe.

Although Sachs sees little of the hero in the Lanzknecht, it is evident that this class was admired greatly by the youth of the times. He was usually a peasant or an artisan who had gone into military service for the glory and financial benefits he would receive (78) l 135[34] He visited foreign lands und returned with weird tales of adventure. He was able to judge from a different standpoint from that of the pilgrims, merchants, travelling scholars and minstrels, who had gleaned their information from a subservient position, while he, the Lanzknecht, had gained his as the conquerer.[35]

While not regarding the Lanzknecht as a hero, Sachs has full sympathy for the hardships he had to undergo. In (9) l 162—175 the Lanzknecht laments that he has to work on land and sea, with his life always at stake, that he is often out of employment and many times has to serve with half pay.[36] He describes his duties in l 173—5:

[34] Liebe, p 24ff.

[35] Liebe, p 26; Freytag II part III, p 4—5.

[36] Liebe, p 28—38. The average pay for the Lanzknecht was about four guelden a month. In addition he earned considerable from booty. The pay, however, was irregular, and a portion was usually kept by the officers.

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„In schantzen, graben und schiltwachten
In scharmützln, stürmen und feldschlachten,
Auf dem Mumplatz muß ich mich palgen."

In (13) l 216 ff he maintains that he must venture all for his lord, even though he has to sleep in vermin-infested stalls. He has to ride in the wind and rain and sleep in his armor. He has no pledge of money and is often compelled to pawn his coat, boots, and spurs. He claims to be disdained by the dwellers of town and country. Of him the gypsy says, l 252 ff, that he drinks and gambles all night, deceives people, boasts, lies, is insodent, and that he is not as brave as he claims to be,[37] l 261, "Du e ein laus fechst, den ein hasen". The peasant (15) l 162 ff says, that in wartime he loses his horse, cow, poultry to the Lanzknecht. The same is claimed by the peasant in (9) l 87 and (78) l 33.

While some of this profession saved money,[38] the most were alternately rich and poor. When they had money they led a life of dissipation. Upon taking a town they would array themselves in silks and satins and give no thought for the morrow. Cards and dice were their main diversions. The return of the disillusioned artisan-Lanzknecht is described by Sachs (78) l 138 ff:

„Und wen ir den kümet herwider,
Müst ir den reichen laüffen zu gnaden
Und schweren wuecher auf eüch laden,
Und wolt doch lehn den reichen gleich."

The soldier, aside from the Lanzknecht, does not appear in the Fspe, but several of the weapons used at this time are enumerated: sword (68) l 138; (79) l 194; (83) l 31; lance (spies, including the Schweinspies, which on occasion might serve a dual purpose) (8) l 156; (51) l 338; (68) l 138; (79) l 206; (84) ff l 321; battle ax (68) l 138; crossbow (8) l 188; (27) l 288; (69) l 316; (72) l 96; (82) l 16; musket, (27) l 55; (83) l 31; (72) l 96. Shield und harness are also mentioned (68) l 137.[39]

Sometimes an army killed its officers and took to pillaging. This was also apt to be the case when the Lanzknechte „vergarteten" before joining another master.

[37] Liebe, p 49—50.

[38] Liebe, p 36—39.

[39] Liebe, 26. Am Rhyn, Dr Otto Henne von, „Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes". Berlin 1886. p 269—271.

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Liebe[40] maintains that Sachs, as well as Murner and other writers of the period, is not fair to the Lanzknecht. While he admits his shortcomings, he claims that the German Lanzknecht had a sense of humanity, considerably more so than the mercenaries of other countries, the Spanish for example. Joachim Ilmhoff writes of his deep sympathy for the people and his own disinclination to get rich at their expense. Liebe, however, speaks of the attitude of Sachs as being characteristic of the times. "In allen diesen ungezählten Schnurren wird der Lanzknecht in der Regel sehr glimpflich behandelt. Er ist der harmlose Bruder Lustig oder der täppisch gutmütige Eisenfresser, eine recht Verkörperung des alten deutschen Charaktertypus des deutschen Michels."

[40] Liebe, p 50—51.

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The Peasant, Part I — Peasant as a Comic Figure

Because of the ancient hostility between the townsman and the peasant, it is only to be expected that Sachs should treat the peasant as a comic figure. Yet, by comparing Sachs's treatment of this class with that of the other classes, one is led to believe that he is, except in a few particulars, as fair to the peasant as to any of the others. Sachs takes the comic where he finds it and spares no one. His object is to teach a lesson, and if he can do this best by satire, he does not hestiate to use it.[1] Just how far Sachs has advanced in regard to his treatment of the peasant can be made clear by reference to the literature that preceeded him.

During the height of the Middle High German period, when the contrast between the city and the town was not so great the writers were much fairer to the peasant than in later times. Neidhart, Goeli, der Taler, Steinmar, Hadlaub, Tannhäuser, and other poets of the time portrayed country life in its fresh naturalness, in contrast with the affectedness of court life. Their portrayal of the country folk was humorous but not unsympathetic.[2] They did, however, protest against the peasants' affectation of court life, especially as regards their manner of dress, which contrasted sharply with their actions.[3]

During the following centuries, however, when the contrast between the city and the country became more marked, the hostility towards the peasant grew more apparent in literature. The "Social Tendenz", says Möller,[4] was the basis for "die rohe, hochmütige Verspottung des ungeschlachten Bauerntölpels". At

[1] Möller, H.W. T., „Die Bauern in der deut. Lit. des 16ten Jahr." Berlin. 1912. p 63.

[2] Möller, p 6.

[3] Möller, p 6; cf Hagelstange, p 49—50.

[4] Möller p 7.

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the same time, the factors which led to the peasants' revolt were at work. The peasant was not only oppressed more and more,[5] but he was beginning to have a consciousness that his lot should be improved.[6]

Am Rhyn suggests that the representation of the peasant as we find him is due to the fact that the other classes were afraid of him.[7] Whatever may have been the causes for this hostility, the pictures and literature of the times show the peasant consistently as "roh, tölpelhaft, widerhaarig, falsch, böshaft, und sobald sie reich wurden, verschwenderisch und hochmütig, beides in alberner, ungeschickter Weise."[8]

In no field of literature did this class fare so ill as in the Fsp. The town audience, composed largely of artisans, enjoyed any spectacle which held the peasant up to ridicule. Hence the peasant in the Fspe of the Keller collection is intended to be nothing more than a caricature. In the Keller Fspe the following features hostile to the peasant are found:[9] monologues in which one peasant tries to outdo the other in vulgar talk, 3, 4, 8, 23, 28, 45; drunkenness and gluttony, 3, 5, 12, 28, 51, 66, 70, 104. 109; beatings, 4, 21, 53, 67, 123; marriage scandals, 3, 4, 5,

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[5] Möller, p 5–6, „Die wirtschaftlichen Umwälzungen seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters hatten für den deutschen Bauernstand einen Verfall auf allen Gebieten des Lebens zur Folge. Das Absterben der markgenossenschaftlichen Verfassung legte das öffentliche Leben des Bauern lahm, die Leibeigenschaft vernichtete die individuelle Freiheit und die Übervölkerung des Landes, die Entwicklung des Kapitalismus, die immer drückenderen Steuern und Frondienste führten vereint den materiellen Niedergang herbei. Ein geistiger und sittlicher Tiefstand entsprach diesen Voraussetzungen und wurde Anlaß zu dem brutalen Hohn, dem der Bauer allenthalben begegnete, und der die Rachsucht und Verbissenheit höhern half, die, als die unvermeidliche soziale Krisis eintrat, sich in den Gräueln des Bauernkrieges entlud."

[6] Freytag, p 5. „Eine Ahnung der eigenen Kraft und Tüchtigkeit zog nach langer Zeit zum ersten Mal durch die Seelen der Gemeinen. Auch waren sie Männer; in ihrer Hütte hingen der Knebelspieß und an ihrem Gürtel das lange Messer."

[7] Am Rhyn, Vol I, p 252; Hagelstange, p 38.

[8] Am Rhyn, I, p 252.

[9] Möller, p 8—9.

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88, 120, 132; laughable accounts of bride-wooing and love adventures, 7, 12, 13, 40, 58, 65, 70, 74, 94; 130; 132; immorality; 5, 13, 14, 28, 40, 112, 132; courtroom scenes, 69, 112, 130; peasant beatings by quack, 6, 48, 82, 120; by the Krämer, 54; by Neidhart, 21, 53.

In other Fspe it was the same, cf Sterz I and XXV, where a contrast is made between the dwellers of the city and the country.[10] The comic peasant occurs also in "Ein Vasnachtspil von dreyen pauern" (1461). Here their uncouthness is emphasized.

With Sebastian Brant and Sachs there is a satirico-didactic tendency, the object being not so much to arouse laughter at the peasant as to make their auditors and readers think.[11] Sachs even glorifies the condition of the peasant (15) (52) and in the Meistergesang "Von den ungleichen Kindern Evas". In (26) Sachs has so changed the material that motherwit is shown to advantage over culture and not as in Keller 60 the emphasis upon the peasant's stupidity.[12] In this respect Sachs has much in common with the folksbook,[13] where the so-called higher classes can not compete with their less favored brethren in a match of wits.

Yet Sachs, for the sake of comedy, has retained many of the objectionable features of the old Fspe.[14] This is especially true as regards the names given to the peasant. A brief list will show many names similar to those of the old Fspe: Haincz flegel, Simon Frawenknecht (12); Molkendremel, Herman Hirnlos, Velle Mistfinck, Eberlein Hiffendorn, Seiz auf der Weinstrassen, Fridlein Zettenschais, Künzl Kleyenfurz (20); Hainz Tötsch, Herman Grampas (21); Heintz Lötsch, Conz Tötsch (36); Heintz Bierdopff, Ula Dolkopff (51); Hermann Dol, Heintz Knol, Kunz Drol (41); Fritz Kegel (81); Eberlein Dildapp (62); Ulla Sewfist (75); Nickel Rubendunst (42).

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[10] Möller, p 25.

[11] Möller, p 11.

[12] Möller, p 6.

[13] Möller, p 17.

[14] Arndt, Wilhelm, „Die Personennamen im altdeutschen Schauspiele des Mittelalters". Breslau. 1904. Germ. Abhandlungen. 23.

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The peasant is furthermore described as being ugly. Peasants are often spoken of as "die groben pawren" (12) l 363; (13) l 159; (15) l 310; in (20) the description of the noses includes every deformity and disagreeable feature possible.

Peasants are held up to ridicule by being worsted, by a thief (25) (59); by Eulenspiegel (77); by other peasants (41); by a quack, (16) (80); by a travelling scholar, (22) (37); they are also made ridiculous in (34) and (42), through their stupidity. The humiliation of the peasants in (75) is not original with Sachs, being taken with little variation from the source, Keller 21, 53.

Sachs also likes to emphasize the failings of the peasant. In (10) l 111 ff, the man gets drunk, tries to bowl but can not, plays cards and loses, borrows but does not pay back, and often appears in court. Dishonest peasants are found in (59) l 252 ff and in (24) l 238, where the peasant woman admits that she does not always tell the truth about their oats, wheat, barley, milk, lard, cows, pigs, and horses.

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The Peasant — Part II The Real Peasant

In the main Sachs considers the peasant as an individual with a soul of his own, independent of the will of the ruling classes. His is the peasant that is becoming restive under the weight of multiplying taxes and duties and is beginning to realize his own power. He is crude, of course, but he is beginning to inspire fear. He is the most important character in the Fspe, appearing in: (2) (4) (9) (10) (12) (15) (20) (21) (22) (24) (25) (26) (34) (36) (37) (38) (41) (42) (51) (52) (54) (59) (62) (65) (67) (75) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81). In these plays we find his entire life-history revealed. We find him complaining about the excessive taxes and compulsory service, the Steur, (3) l 317; (9) l 85; "rent, zinst, güelt und fron", (78) l 31. In (25) l 21 to 23 the peasant is compelled to appear in court to answer a complaint of the Zinsherr, or lord of the manor. Even the custom of paying taxes in produce on feast days is indicated by references to Easter eggs, Martinmas goose (27) l 41 and the Shrovetide cock (21).[1]

Aside from the taxes and the services rendered, the peasant had much to complain of in his treatment by the nobles. In the feuds between the barons the victor would prey upon the land of his defeated rival. The peasant was also subject to attacks from robber knights and the Lanzknechte[2] (9) l 87, (78) l 33 and 42 ff:

„Der Krieg mich oft in grund verderbt,
Freund unde feint mir fallen ein,
Dreiben mir hin ros, kue und schwein.
Hab ich etwan mein gelt eingraben
So erwischen mirs die kriegesknaben;
Auch wird mir haus und hoff abrent."

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[1] Gerdes, p 19—23; Hagelstange, Alfred, „Süddeutsches Bauernleben im Mittelalter". Leipzig. 1898. p 1—55.

Bartels, A., „Der Bauer". Leipzig. 1900. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte". p 16 ff.

[2] Gerdes, p 65—67; Biedermann, Chap. 14.

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In (15) l 162—4 he also mentions losing horses, cattle, poultry in time of war. In (9) l 87 and (78) l 33 the priest and beggar[3] are also included among those who try to make a living from the peasant, and in addition to these the travelling scholar (22) (37) and the rogue (25) (59) (77) look upon the peasant as their legitimate victim.

The work of the peasant was much the same as today, the duties being given as plowing, sowing, planting, cutting, mowing, threshing, making hay, cutting wood and clearing ground (reutten), "Ernehren alle menschen gar", (2) l 81; (9) l 82; 83; (15) l 109 ff; (52) l 322—5 ff; (78) l 28 ff. At this time the three field method of agriculture was in use.[4] One field was planted in summer crops, the second in winter crops, and the third left fallow.[5] The community regulated the crops and determined the kind of crops to be planted and where, as well as designated what fields were to be left fallow. The time for field work was regulated by the church calendar, the patron deity being Margaretha of Antioch.[6] As Bartels says,[7] "Man begann jede Arbeit an dem Tage eines bestimmten Heiligen, der womöglich durch einen Volksreim festgelegt war".

The products as mentioned by Sachs are: oats, turnips, cabbage, barley, flax and wood (9) l 117—19; lentils (20) l 152; wheat (24) l 238.[8] In (67) l 49 ff the peasants are interested in grape culture.

Among the implements used on the farm are: mallet (20) l 46; (36) l 127; (41) l 93; heppn (kind of sickle) (36) l 127; ax (36) l 127; (54); pick-ax (61) l 156; plow (36) l 131;[9] flail (36)

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[3] Freytag, p 5.

[4] Bartels, p 45—48; Gerdes, p 23 ff.

[5] Gerdes, p 23—32.

[6] Hagelstange, p 156.

[7] Bartels, p 47.

[8] Bartels, p 46; Hagelstange, p 155.

[9] Hagelstange, p 156, gives a description of the plow at that time. „Das Vordergestell war mit zwei Rädern und einer Deichsel versehen, woran die Pferde zogen; das Hintergestell wurde gebildet durch den Pflugbaum, durch welchen in der Mitte das Vordereisen herabhing und an dessen Ende sich hinten der Sterz befand, woran der Bauer den Pflug führte."

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l 128; (41) l 93; shovel (61) l 156; hayfork (36) l 128; (79) l 206; dungfork (36) l 128; (80) l 175;[10] schweinspies (51) ff l 338; (79) l 206.

Among the dairy products are eggs, milk, lard, cheese (25) l 4; (34) l 9; (37) l 95; (77) l 30. In the latter play, butter, cabbage, and lettuce are also taken to market. It seemed to be the duty of the peasant woman to have charge of the dairy work as well as to take the produce to market. In (25) l 8 ff the duties of the daughter are, to feed the cow, get supper, do the housework, get up "umb drutten Hanen schlag", milk the cow and leave for market. The peasant woman in (34) l 8 ff and (80) l 50—1 have the same or similar work to do. Regarding the household work, the defeated man in (28) l 120 ff says that he will have to spin, wind and unwind yarn, throw out the waste water, sweep, make the beds and wash, as well as "sudeln und prudeln in dem Asche", which seems to mean "potter around".

The domestic animals mentioned by Sachs correspond to those raised today.[11] They include: horses (15) l 163; (36) l 123; (67) l 263; (78) l 44. "Ein mehren grab" (10) l 138; (36) l 66; (59) l 7; (80) l 43. Cows, (15) l 163; (34) l 40; (67) l 263; (78) l 44. "Die schwartze Ku", (25) l 131; (36) l 115; (41) l 144.[12] Sheep, (36) l 221; (67) l 263; goats, "graben pock" (36) l 125; (59) l 191; "die scheckten gaiss" (36) l 116. Pigs, (34) l 40; (36) l 125; (67) l 263; (78) l 44. Of poultry the following varieties are enumerated: hens, (15) l 163; (36) l 117; the black cock (21) l 17; geese (15) l 30; (36) l 117; ducks (15) l 30; (58) l 62.

With the possible exception of the cow, the horse was the most important of all domestic animals.[13] They were used for all kinds of farm work, although oxen were occasionally used for plowing.[14] Horses were also used as beasts of burden and, on

[10] Bartels, p 45—47; Hagelstange, p 156; Gerdes, p 23—32; 64—65,
[11] Hagelstange, p 131 ff; Bartels, p 49—52.
[12] Here „Die schwartze Kunst".
[13] Bartels, p 49.
[14] Hagelstange, p 135; Bartels p 45.

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account of the poor condition of the roads, most of the traveling was done on horseback (80).[15]

With the growth of cities, however, cows attained a great importance, being raised extensively for their products, milk, butter, cheese (25) l 4 ff; (34) l 9 ff; (77) l 25—30.[16] Sheep were raised not only for wool but also for food and leather.[17] Nevertheless pigs afforded most of the meat for the mediaeval peasant. Three varieties of pigs were raised, bacon hogs, lard hogs, and Frischlinge (shoats),[18] which were marketed early. Slaughtering took place once in the year, in the fall.[19] It was regarded as a festive occasion, the entire neighborhood taking part. The method of killing was with the schweinspies (72) l 125. After the animal had been killed, the meat was salted and smoked. A great portion was made into sausages, a part of which was given to the neighbors. Sachs refers to this custom: in (51) l 211—12 the priest laments that he does not receive any more sausages, and in (41) l 74 ff the stingy peasant refuses to give any to his neighbors.

Regarding poultry little information is given by Sachs other than to mention eggs as a part of the produce taken to market. Gerdes[20] states that eggs and poultry were universally used for the payment of taxes. Chickens were usually kept in the back yards and frequently strayed into the yards of neighbors (21). To kill a chicken that had offended in this manner was not considered unlawful.[21]

So much of the peasant's income was derived from live stock that the loss of any animal was a severe blow[22] (67) l 263. For this reason they were well taken care of. In winter they were kept in their stalls,[23] in many places under the same roof as the dwelling.

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[15] Gerdes, Chap 6.
[16] Hagelstange, p 133.
[17] Hagelstange, p 138.
[18] Hagelstange, p 137.
[19] Hagelstange, p 231; Gerdes, p 43—44.
[20] Gerdes, Chap 6.
[21] Hagelstange, p 143.
[22] Gerdes, p 65.
[23] Bartels, p 51.

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The sides were well weatherboarded, the floors being covered with srtaw, hay and kept reasonably clean.[24] The various foods given to the stock are enumerated by Hagelstange.[25] Cows were fed hay, wheat and millet straw, cabbages, turnips, and clover; sheep, rye straw, hay and leaves, often mixed with cabbage, turnips and acornmeal; pigs, acorns and beechnuts, oats and other grains.

In the summer, all stock was let out on pasture.[26] Sachs frequently alludes to the horn of the village mayor as the signal to turn out the stock, (22) l 251—2; (34) l 39—41; (79) l 143—6. Pigs, however, were usually driven to the forest.[27] A herdsman was appointed by the community to look after all the stock on pasture, the members of the community paying him pro rata.[28] The duties of the herdsman are enumerated by the Lord in giving his instructions to one of the sons of Eve (52) l 315 ff:

„Du aber solt ein Scheffer wern,
Die schaff solt melcken unde schern,
Sie füren auft waidt suss und gut,
Vor wölffen sie haben in hut
Und von im machen kess und schmalz."

If the herdsman shouted for help at the approach of a wolf, he was not held responsible, but failing to do this he had to make reparation for any loss sustained.[29]

It is the wolf that causes the most annoyance to the peasants of Sachs: (6) l 216; (4) l 194; (9) l 89; (36) l 158; (42) l 400; (52) l 318; (78) l 35. Punishments for a captured wolf are suggested in (36) l 224 ff, to pull out his teeth, put out his eyes, put him on a table and skin him alive, hang him up by the tail, drown him in a well, burn him in an oven, and cut off his ears. Other pests were: fox (9) l 89; (78) l 35; marten, (9) l 89; ravens (9) l 89; (6) l 216; (78) l 35; crows (9) l 89; (78) l 35.[30]

[24] Hagelstange, p 131—132.
[25] Hagelstange, p 135.
[26] Hagelstange, p 134; Bartels, p 50.
[27] Hagelstange, p 140.
[28] Bartels, p 50.
[29] Hagelstange, p 142; Bartels p 50.
[30] Bartels, p 46.

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A trait truly characteristic of all tillers of the soil that has been noted by Sachs is the embellishment of the peasant's language by agricultural expressions;

(21) 1 13—15, „Mein Nachbar, wie sichst du so saur,
Samb hab dirs Korn zerschlagn der Schauer
Oder sey dir der wein erfroren?"
(64) 1 64—5, „Wie siczt du also trawriclich,
Als ob dir der wein erfrorn?"
(65) 1 8—10, „Hat dir der Schaur den hopffen erschlagen?
Oder sint dir die zwieffel erfrorn?
Oder hast ein hueffeisen verlorn?"

These expressions cf (67) 1 255—6 show how greatly the peasant of that time feared the elements.[31]. The mention of the horseshoe suggests one of the superstitions of the peasant, that a horseshoe placed on the stall door would keep away evil spirits.[32]

THE JEW

Although not so brutal in his antipathy against the Jew as his contemporaries and immediate predecessors (cf the old Fspe and wood cuts), Sachs detested the race, as is shown by his conclusion to (76) 1 410—11, where he says that he is glad that there are no Jews in Nürnberg. The Jew is never considered in a favorable light and is always the object of contempt and derision. In the Fspe examples are given of the two Jewish professions, usury and medicine. As central figures in the Fspe appear the Jewish money grabbers Kargas (16), Reichenberger. (32), Mosse and Esaw (76); in (9) and (78) different classes have recourse to the usurer. Reichenberger (32) is a typical example of the grasping Jew. His ways of making money are, 1 26 ff: by his mines, factory, grainfields, and guardianship. He laments that no one will pay him nine per cent interest. He complains of the extravagence of his wife and believes he is hopelessly ruined because a few small repairs have to be made upon the house. He is almost heartbroken when his servant steals an old doublet. Having such attributes, it is not surprising that they should steal from the poor Simplicius, nor that he, in turn, should be victimized

[31] Gerdes, p 64.
[32] Bartels, p 51.

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when the chance for more gain presents itself. The nine percent, however, was small interest for the time. The merchant in (78) l 168 has to pay ten per cent, while according to Liebe[33] in early times forty-three percent and even higher interest was allowed on weekly loans.

Kargas (16) is a close-fisted Jew, more of a miser than usurer. In (76) l 275—77 the Jews mention the fact that a man has forfeited his pledge and that they will have to sell him out. The universality of usury at this time is shown in (78) where all people, noble, villager, poor, rich, young and old, have been victimized.[34] The moral drawn, nevertheless, is that it has been largely their own fault.

As a quack, the Jew appears in (11) (16) (17) (80). In only one play (80) is he important. Isaac practices the black art to fool the peasants, by prophesying, finding lost articles and buried treasures, and by giving charms; but he confesses that all his powers are assumed.[35].

While Sachs introduces the Jew as a usurer and continues him as a quack, he has omitted all the controversies which were common in the old Fspe, as "Von der alten und neuen Ee", "Von Kaiser Konstantin", "Die Entkrist Fastnacht",[36] and also the passion plays where the church and synagogue engage in arguments.

THE SERVANT

The serving class, while not of frequent occurrence in the Fspe of Sachs, is not very well individualized, and, from the

[33] Liebe, George, „Das Judentum". Leipzig. 1903. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. XI. p 9.

[34] Liebe, p 9.

Frankl, Oscar, „Der Jude in den dt. Dichtungen des 15., 16. und 17ten Jahrh." Leipzig. 1905. p 91.

No matter how badly the Jew was hated, he was indispensable to the growth of cities. Sachs seems to have been the first Fsp writer to mention the Jew as a usurer, although he was quite generally represented as a quack.

[35] The Jew as a quack is of course related to the Krämer in the passion plays and the old Fspe. Frankl, p 100; Liebe, p 59.

[36] Frankl, p 15—17.

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lack of material on the subject, it is difficult to judge just how accurately the class is portrayed.[37]

Man-servants, serving a variety of masters, including nobles and wealthy citizens, an abbot, physician, and peasants or poor villagers appear in the following Fspe: (1) (4) (10) (11) (27) (36) (47) (50) (66) (79) (80) (81) (83) (85).

As may be expected it is chiefly the bad traits of the servants that are emphasized. He is, above all, notoriously lazy, (4) l 147; (66) l 1 ff, cf Keller, 64. In all the Sachs plays the servant loiters when sent upon some task by his master. He is furthermore dishonest, (10) l 149; in (32) l 62 Reichenberger complains that the servant has purloined his doublet; Klas Schellentaus (81) l 189—90, steals all his master's property he can lay hands on in order to continue his gambling. Few servants are loyal to their masters. The servants in (27) l 193 ff revolt against the robber knight when they do not get their share of booty. In (50) l 89 ff Gnato and Dromo forsake their master when he is unable to pay them. The latter are, however, not typically German, but rather represent the stock type of servant as found in the Latin comedies.

The man-servant is also a lover of low amusements. In (4) l 146 he drinks heavily and carries the celebration on over Monday. In (10) l 142 ff Künzel is a thief, drunkard and unscrupulous villain. The servant in (4) and Klas (81) are just as bad.

Another almost universal characteristic of the servant is his braggadocio and the accompanying cowardice. The abbot in (27) l 95—7 implies this, as well as the servant's gluttony:

„Du bist ein Fechter hinderm Ofen,
Da die Würst und die Hering trofen,
Und bey der feisten Klostersuppen."

The maid (10) l 193 tells the man-servant, "Du darffst kaum einen Hasen schrecken."

[37] Hagelstange, p 93—6, says that the class did not fare so badly at this time. They were usually hired for a period of a year, and while in the service they were under the strict discipline of the master, who, however, did not abuse them. The chief requirements were orderliness, punctuality, and faithfulness. All unfaithfulness was severely punished. They were also required to attend religious services on Sundays and festal days. The pay was poor and included the barest necessities of dress and a little money.

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The Bauernknecht (36) l 47—9 boasts of his own greatness:

„Wann ich bin Heintzlein frischer Knecht,
Spring uber all Misthauffen schlecht,
Allmal dew frewdigst an dem Tanz."

Hainz Hederlein (79) l 1—2 is the most boastful fo all:

„Jüech, jüech, jüech, far aüs unmüet,
Ich pin vil wilder den sewplüet."

and again, l 60 ff:

„Ich bin der Hainczel frischer Knecht
Und spring über alle mist haüffen.
Ich wil im pald ain Kappen kaüffen,
Wan ich pin fraydig uberaüs.
Von unserm Dorf hab ich nun daus
Drey genshirten in wald gejagt."

Only once are the duties of the man-servant enumerated: the groom in (83) l 26 ff is told to draw off the boots of the guest and polish them, remove his mantel, musket, and sword, take care of his horse by bedding him with straw, currying him and giving him feed and water.

Typical servant names are: Heintz (27) (66) (79) (80); Klas Schellentaus (81); Künzel, (10); Fritz, (83).

The maid is apparently no better than the manservant. She appears in (4) (10) (23) (40) (43) (45) (57) (58) (66) (84), serving peasant women, well-to-do women of the middle class, and occasionally an adventuress (23) and priest (58), (79) l 66.

She dislikes work, (4) l 119 ff; (10) l 159. She is careless and is often fined for breaking dishes (4) l 179—81; (32) l 66—67. In the latter play she has stolen an undershirt and a sleeping cap, l 62—4. It is frequently noted that she is careless about her morals, (4) l 136—8; (9) l 58; (10) l 167; (65) l 31; (66) l 308.

While little is said about the household duties of the maid she is frequently of service in her mistress's amours (23) (40) (43) (57). In (45) l 23—5 she suggests that her mistress take a lover, and in (84) she assists the widow Fransiska in discomfiting the young gallants.

She is given typical names; Metz (23); Anna (40); Agneta (43); Ursula (45); Margareta (57) (58); Hilde (84); Gredt (10); Elss (4).

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THE VAGABOND

The Beggar. The beggar is not of frequent occurrence in the Fspe of Sachs but is completely described (9) (51). The beggar in (9) is representative of the class that was still enjoying its golden age during the early sixteenth century.[38] He laments l 200—24 that he is abused by all other classes. He is accused of treason, arson, robbery, and laziness. Whenever he enters a village the dogs bark at him,[39] and he is often pursued by peasant women. He can not adapt himself to the changing weather conditions, being cold in winter and uncomfortably warm in summer. He considers himself fortunate, indeed, if he has a bed of straw to sleep on. Furthermore, he is constantly annoyed by such pests as rats, mice, fleas, lice, and flies. The blind beggars (51) l 28—40 have to undergo the same hardships. Of the beggar it is said (9) l 231—234:

(du) „Im Sommer untern Zeunen hausest,
Im Schatten deine Kleider lausest,
Du stelst dich kranck, du hinckst und kreist,
Bis du die Leut umbs Gelt bescheist."

According to Hampe[40] this accusation is just. He states that beggars such as these existed and were called "starke Bettler". In the "Liber Vagatorium", published to instruct the public concerning the beggar's trade, a number of devices for enlisting the sympathy of the poeple may be found. The beggars became such a pest in Germany that, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, they were restricted in their activities and were kept in check by the Bettelrichter.[41] The blind beggars (51) l 46 express fear of the Bettelrichter, who seizes them and puts them in stocks.

The Gypsy.[42] Similar to the beggar, both with respect to his

[38] Hampe, Th., „Fahrende Leute", Leipzig 1902. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. X, p 66.

[39] Cf the old English nursery rhyme,

„Hark! Hark! the dogs do bark,
The beggars are coming to town."

[40] Hampe, p 67ff.

[41] Hampe, p 83.

[42] Hampe, p 77—82. At the time Sachs writes the gypsy was growing more and more unpopular although a century previous they had been looked

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mode of living and the regard with which he is held, is the gypsy (10) (13). In (13) l 275 ff he complains that he can get no shelter from the elements, and that he is accused of being a thief and a menace to society. In (15) l 44—5 mention is made of a child stolen by a gypsy.

The profession of the gypsy was, of course, to tell fortunes. In (10) l 76 he says that he can also find lost articles, make love potions, prophesy, and tell where there is hidden treasure. To explain why it is that he tells so many lies he says (13) l 295 ff that unpopular, he was forced to tell the people what they wanted to know. The gypsy in (10) l 199 ff finds that the truth is not desired. The gypsy as a giver of advice is mentioned in (64) l 193, where the man says that his wife lectures him in the way a gypsy would. The expression "black as a gypsy" occurs (39) l 362, and also (10) l 154, "heiss die Amschel dir mehr singen".

Travelling Scholar. A student by profession but a vagabond in his method of living, the travelling scholar was a source of annoyance to the people of the late middle ages. With Sachs he secures more recognition on account of his knavery than his learning (22) (37) (40). One play dealing with this type (29). Die drei Studenten is not available. That he is compelled to live by his wits is admitted by the scholar in (37) l 167 ff, who says that he has studied the black art and is able to find lost articles, to cure all manner of ills, foretell the future, find treasure, conjure up the devil and, like a true magician, "auch zu Nacht

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upon almost as holy figures. Gypsies did not make their appearance into Germany until the year 1417. They claimed to be Christians of heathen parentage, who, to atone for the sin of their ancestors — refusing aid to the holy family on its way through Egypt — were doomed to wander. Thus, for many years, they were given great liberties, but their depredations became so great that in the second half of the fifteenth century they were regarded as unwelcome guests, several cities passing edicts against them. They were believed to have evil powers and to be able by magic to burn buildings, make animals sick, send plagues, and the like. Because of their adeptness at begging, which they acquired while a favored race, they exerted a great influence upon the vagabondage of the fifteenth century.

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auf dem Bock ausfarn". It is apparent that he often maintained himself by begging and stealing. The woman in (37) l 69 calls him a beggar, and the priest l 90—5 accuses him of pilfering flax, eggs, lard, and cheese. In (22) the scholar by trickery gains clothes and money from the peasant woman and then takes a horse from her husband.[43]

Conrad, the Pachant[44] (40), belonged to the class of travelling scholars who had degenerated into the lowest type of vagabond. I l 219 he mentions one of his ways of making a living, "Ich hab vil Partecken ersungen".[45] He is content to sleep in a wine cask (l 229) for there he will find no rats and mice. But even here he does not escape the inevitable lice[46] l 233. He is equipped with a sack in which his beggings are kept (Parteckensack) and writing material. He has reached the lowest stage of degredation, is filthy, and faces the world with only a piece of cold meat and pot of sauer kraut to eat and three heller in money.[47]

THE ROGUE

The rogue is a popular type with Sachs, especially Eulenspiegel, whom he has taken directly from the folksbook. While Eulenspiegel delights in playing tricks on the people, he is careful not to steal outright, for fear he will get a "strich an Keln" (58) l 128.

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[43] Freytag, Vol II, p 11ff. The travelling scholars were sons of the common people, who did not have the funds to secure a higher education in the usual manner. They were allowed the use of the Latin schools under certain conditions. They were given lodging but had to beg for their board. This was regulated by certain definite restrictions.

[44] Freytag, p 13ff. There were two classes of travelling scholars, the Bacchant and the Stützen. The latter were the younger scholars and had to perform all manner of menial tasks for the Bacchant, even to stealing.

[45] Reicke, E., „Lehrer und Unterrichtswesen". Leipzig. 1901. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. IX. p 56. The non-paying students that went from house to house singing religious songs were called Kurrendauer or Kurrendschüler, but mostly Parteken Hengste and Parteken Fresser.

[46] Freytag, p 20; Reicke, p 58.

[47] Reicke, p 59 describes the degeneracy of the Bacchant, stating that many kept up this life until they were thirty years of age.

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More original types with Sachs are Klas Würfel (77) and Klas Schellentaus (81). The latter knows all games of cards, enumerating them as follows: l 27 ff "rümpffen, flössen, puecken, possen, in den thuern, schleck, puczen, das losen, das offen rawschen, ain dreissig, ains und hundert, carnöffeln, der leczten les, des stichs und der pild, der untrew". His motto with cards is, l 23—4:

„Wer dem Kertlein so schnewczen kon
Des Rock die schaben nit kumen on."

He is also familiar with the game of backgammon, l 59, and with dice, l 64. He admits that he cheats, and when he loses he has no scruples against robbing his master. When the latter pursues him, his ready wit comes to his aid and the noble himself is beaten for a thief. Klas Würfel, as the name suggests, makes his living by cards and dice. He comes from a family of law breakers and expects to end on the gallows, 100 ff:

„Stirb ich gleich, e ich krank pin worn
Und mit dem kopff in stegraiff dret,
Heb an zu trabn, wen der wind wet
Thu auf aim henfen ros her reitten."

Hermann Pich (53) is a rogue whose duty it is to trace out blasphemers for the Inquisitor.

Accomplished thieves and robbers are found in (25) (27) (59) (70). The cow thief (25) is not individualized and what he does is an ordinary Spitzbube trick. Sachs, while changing the material from the source (Pauli 352) to make it more dramatic has not changed the character of the thief. In (59) the horsethief takes advantage of the gross stupidity of the peasants to make a successful getaway. He later sells them articles which he had previously stolen from them. Sachs does not overlook an opportunity for belittling the peasants and shows that they are as bad scoundrels as the thief is.

In (27) one finds the robber knight. While the source of the story is Italian (Boc. X, 2), Sachs has made such free use of the material for purposes of characterization that the knight and his servants must be accepted as German. They prey upon all passing travellers and as soon as a capture is made they are prepared to torture the victim if he becomes troublesome. The leader, of course, gets the lion's share of the booty, much to the displeasure

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of his men. Bold as these desperados are, they do not lose sight of their probable fate, death upon the gallows (l 28). The robbers in (70) are cold-blooded and unfeeling in their account of robbing and murdering travellers, l 119 ff,

„Den wolt wir von den mehren schlagn
Oder ein kügel durch in jagn
Und im den zum reitwetschger sehen."

They are also afraid of capture, having just escaped from a band of troopers. They see the possibility of death on the gallows (l 70) or on the wheel, l 268.

THE WITCH[48]

The witch or old hag appears in several of the Fspe: (18) (19) (39) (57) (61) (63) (76). In all instances except (63) her influence is for evil. In this play she does good by teaching a young woman how to manage her husband.

The old witch is called by various names suggestive of her character: die alt Breckin, die alt Hex, die alt Wettermacherin, die alt Hur, die alt Stüt (18); die alt zawberin, die alt unhüeld, die alt deuffelspannen (76); des Teufels Jagahund (18) I 254 des Teufels Wachtelhund (61) l 368. The matchmaking old woman is frequently designated as Perentreiber: (50) l 121; (57) l 367; (61) l 31.

In physical appearance she is, of course, hideous, (19) l 94 to 96:

„Högret und pucklet sind von leib,
Gerunzelt und ghrumpffen und ungschaffen,
Muerret und munckisch gleich den Affen."

Similarly, (63) l 110.

It was as matchmaker that the old woman gained her greatest degree of prominence. The old hag (19) l 196 would have preferred to have stayed at the Sewmarck, "kupeln, finanzen und popizen". The old woman in (57) l 21, after many reverses, is reduced to this trade. Again in (61) l 359ff, after being able to effect the ruin of a virtuous young married women, the old hag discovers

[48] For the old witch see Breitzmann, Franz, „Die böse Frau in der deut. Literatur des Mittelalters". Berlin. 1912. Palaestra 42.

Also, Bauer, Max, „Die deutsche Frau in der Vergangenheit". Berlin. 1902. Chap. XI.

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that she can make more money by selling flesh and blood than by spinning. In (63) l 112—15 the old witch was formerly a procuress, but found that the black art was more profitable. The evolution of a matchmaker is described in (57) l 1—23:

„Ach, was soll ich nun fahen an?
Mein geltlich ich verzehret han
Mit schwerer Kranckheit lange jar,
Welches gelt ich einsammlen war
Mit Bulerey in meiner Jugendt,
Da mir denn hauffenweis zu trugent
Edel, unedel, layen, und pfaffen.
Nun bin ich hesslich, ungschaffen.
Zum buln mein niemand mehr begert,
Bin auch verachtet und unwert.
Und thu mich doch des Betels schemen,
Dass ich solt das Almusen nemen.
Mag auch nit spinnen an ein rocken,
Mag auch bey keinem Krancken knocken,
Auch nit den Kindern zopffen und laussen.
Sol ich mich den nehren mit mausen,
So hab ich sorg der meinen Ohrn:
Mir ist die Stadt vor versagt worn
Von wegen meiner bösen stück:
Ich denck gleich hinter mich zurück.
Wil mich nun gleich mit Kuppeln nehrn."

Aside from matchmaking the most popular profession for the old woman was the practice of the black art, (63) l 114 ff:

„Nach dem da gab ich mich allein
Auf die schwarz kunst und zawberey,
Sam künt ich wetter machen frey,
Schecz graben, faren auf der gabel,
Der gleichen ander solich fabel:
Den pauern knechtn gab ich wuntsegen,
Die gschos ich segnen kunt albegen,
Vür schiessen hencket ich nach mals
Den lanczknechten zettel an hals,
Verschlossen in aim federkiel.
Dergleichen stücklein trieb ich viel
Auch wo aim etwas wirt gestolen,
Dem sag ich war gar unferholn
Und las in sehen in die prilln
Und reis im selczam rottn und grilln,
Erforsch und frag alle umbstent,
E wan ich pring die sach zu ent,
Warsag den eim listiger weis,
Das es ist weder schwarz noch weis;
Wan ich kan kainer dieser kunst,
Mach ainem sunst ain plaben dunst.
Zu zeitten glingtz mir an gfer,
Den pringt ain narr den andern her.
Also die lewt ich eff und plent,
Mich wundert das sis nit verstent,

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Sunder mir noch mit ganczem hauffen,
Weiber und man teglich nach lauffen.
Die pey mir suchen gros erfarung.
Darmit gwin ich icz mein narung."

The mother of Dismas the murderer (70) is an old witch with ability to practice magic. He says, l 83—4:

„Weil mein mueter lebt, pin ich frey
Vor gfencknus durch ir zawbrey."

Weathermaking is another profitable accomplishment, (19) l 144; (63) l 116. As a trouble maker the old woman in (18) l 255—7 does more damage in a day than the devil has done in thirty years (cf also (30)). It is not surprising that the old woman should be more powerful than the devil as he is afraid of her. It is related in (19) l 283—4 that

„Solch alter poser weiber drey
Fingen im Feld den deuffel frey."

This notable occurrence is also mentioned in (76) l 177—9. The devil refuses to allow such creatures to go to hell with him, but in case of an emergency he is glad to make use of the old woman to destroy a happy marriage (18), or to prevent one (39). Of her he says in (18) l 281—2:

„Mir stehn gen Berg all meine Haar
Vor deim gifftigen, bösen Maul."

He is so afraid of her that he will not hand her the shoes promised as a reward but offers them at the end of a stick. In (76) the devil is a sadly abused husband and is glad to quit a bad bargain.

It is in the punishments prescribed for the old witch that one can see the contempt in which she was held. It is said of the matchmaker in (57) l 363 and (61) l 378—9 that she should be drowned. In (19) one old hag accuses her companion of having lost her ears, and receives for answer, l 222 ff:

„Ey so hastu dragen das ploch,
Da dir der leb die drumel schlueg
Und mit dir umb den marck rum zueg,
Da loffn wol hundert pueben mit."

The matchmaker (61) says that if captured she will be burned (l 374) or have to carry the stone (l 375).

In one case an old woman is despised, not because she is evil, but because she was not. The old woman whom Peter found believing in God was thought to be half-witted and was called, "ain alter stadl abrunnen", (67) l 190—3.

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Part III — The External Life of the Times

LIVING CONDITIONS

Housing.[1] Sachs does not pretend to give a complete and accurate account of the living conditions of the nobles or the rich. He maintains the same point of view that he does in the characterization of the classes — his sympathies are with the lowly, and only the extravagances and vices of the nobility are stressed. He reflects the poor man's conception of the homes of the rich, which is not greatly different from his idea of paradise. The dwelling houses are mansions of hewn stone (3) l 185, with Italian balconies, baths, fountains, and pleasure gardens (8) l 279—82, 290. Interiors are not well defined, but they are costly. No attempt is made to describe any of the furnishings except the bed, which is gorgeous in its golden pillars and coverlet of rare furs, radiating the odor of musk (50) l 280 ff.[2]

Details of household equipment in the home of the Burger are only slightly more complete. In (57) l 141—6 the maid tells the mistress what is needed:

> Fraw, ein Ofenrhor dörfft ich wol,
> Wenn ich das Feuer auf blasen sol.
> So hab ich auch kein Schwefel mehr,
> Auch gehn uns ab die Häfen sehr,
> Sie sind fast schartet und zerbrochen,
> Kan kaum erreichen die nechst wochen."

An indication that the wealthy did not always live in comfort is seen in the great pleasure the nobles in (75) take in the discovery of the first violet. The winter has been long and as it is difficult to heat the halls, spring is very welcome.

The houses of the poor, especially of the peasants, often hardly deserve the name of dwelling. Armut (3) l 199—201 describes the houses in which she has had to live at times:

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[1] Bauer, p 116—17; Am Rhyn, p 264—65.

Am Rhyn, p 259.

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„Ein hültzen hauss vol ratzen, meuss.
Zu rissen gwandt, vol flöch und leuss,
Ein ströen pedt. ein kleyen prot."

Straw beds are also mentioned in (4) l 274; (24) l 37; (25) l 85. In (25) l 84—5 the rooms are bare and desolate:

„Der Haussrath ist rusig und schnödt; [3]
Der bethgwandt ist nur hew und stro."

In spite of these indications of misery the enemies of the peasant always mention that he is warm in winter, (9) l 110; (78) l 76.

That some effort was made to keep the house clean is shown by Adam's admonition to Eve (52) l 53—4:

„Kehr die Stuben und strew ein Grass
Dass es hinnen schmeck dester bass."

On account of poor sanitation the houses of the peasant and of the lower classes were filled with vermin of all kinds.[4] Among the pests most frequently encountered are: rats, (3) l 199; (40) l 232; (60) l 240; (72) l 214; (76) l 189; mice, (3) l 199; (40) l 232; (42) l 417; (51) l 38; (60) l 242; (72) l 214; (76) l 189; fleas, (3) l 200; (19) l 264; (42) l 418; (60) l 242; (72) l 213; (76) l 188; lice, (3) l 200; (40) l 233; (42) l 418; (51) l 37; (60) l 242; (72) l 213; (76) l 188; flies, (9) l 172; maggots, (34) l 242; bugs (Wanczen) (60) l 242; (76) l 188; moths, (15) l 199; (81) l 24.

The furniture and household utensils used by the poorer classes, as enumerated by Sachs, include: table (1) ff l 355; chair, (16) ff l 156; (56) ff l 314; (80) l 179; bench, (80) l 179; dishes (geschirr) (1) ff l 355; (7) l 372; dish (schüssel) (4) l 278; spoons (58) ff l 219; milkspoon, (80) l 228; pail, (46) l 180; candles (60) l 273; bottles, (82) l 29; tankard (5) l 293; (12) st.d; (51) l 242; (82) l 29; kanne, (4) ff l 18; glasses, (5) l 293; needles, (66) l 41; broom, (80); pots, (12) l 277.

FOOD AND DRINK

Food.[5] The fastidiousness of the rich with regard to their food is a subject of which Sachs is never tired of referring. The

[3] Bartels, p 38; Hagelstange, p 101—18; Bartels, p 36—38; Gerdes, p 35—43.

[4] Bauer, p 145.

[5] Am Rhyn, p 258; Bauer, p 268.

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chief dainties that were served to the noble or rich Burger include: game, (3) l 184; (9) l 260; (14) l 73; (27) l 5; (50) l 3; (56) l 218; (58) l 350; (81) l 132; (83) l 310. Of the animals most frequently used for game the hare is the favorite, (6) l 118; (15) l 240; (50) l 3; (83) l 310. Birds, (3) l 184; (7) l 217; (8) l 363; (9) l 64; (15) l 240; (23) l 52; (53) l 30; (58) l 350; (69) l 95; (76) l 82; (83) l 310. Among the birds eaten are: chickens, (9) l 64; (76) l 82; capons, (15) l 240; (16) l 232; (50) l 3; (85) l 454; pheasants, (15) l 240; (25) l 227; (50) l 3; ducks, (76) l 82; geese, (9) l 64; (67) l 112; (76) l 82.

Fish, (3) l 184; (8) l 363; (9) l 260; (14) l 73; (50) l 5; (53) l 189; (56) l 218; (57) l 138; (58) l 350; (76) l 82; (81) l 132; (83) l 310. The varieties of fish are: trout, (6) l 119; (14) l 120; (23) l 51; grayling, (6) l 119; (23) l 51; pike, (14) l 120.

Bread[6] was a staple article of food for the common people: (9) l 39; (24) l 36; (37) l 5; (64) l 177; (70) l 181; (78) l 38. Rolls were also eaten by all peasants, (10) l 53; (15) l 246; (26) l 350; (37) l 52; (42) l 313; (80) l 218; (83) l 54 cheese (24) l 36. Soup and gruel are frequently mentioned: Ein gebrennte suppen, (31) l 27; (58) l 72; (63) l 8; (80) l 118; (83) l 51. In (53) l 181 the soup is made of cabbage, peas and other vegetables. Gruel is alluded to in several of the plays, (9) l 67; (15) l 246; (37) l 4; heydelbrey (buckwheat ?) (21) l 168; oatmeal porridge, (9) l 261; (49) l 211; millet-pap,[7] (79) l 131.

Pork was most frequently used for meat.[8] In most of the plays dealing with peasant life, sausages are mentioned: (4) l 305; (9) l 105; (15) l 245; (25) l 230; (37) l 52; (41) l

[6] Am Rhyn, p 258; Bauer, p 274; Bartels, p 43; Gerdes, p 43—44; Hagelstange, p 98. Gerdes says that the bread was made of barley, rye, and oatmeal, and on special occasions the peasant had white bread. For breakfast he had bread and beer; for noon, soup, vegetables, bread and sometimes meat.

[7] Bartels, p 44 says that millet-pap was more common in north Germany while barley gruel was eaten in the South.

[8] Gerdes, p 43—44.

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6; (51) l 107; roast pork, (15) l 247; (64) l 164; (69) l 230; (81) l 133; (83) l 53; blood pudding, (10) l 149; (11) l 74; Rotseck (a kind of blood pudding), (15) l 245; (26) l 233; (51) l 211; (83) l 53. Lard was in great demand for all kinds of cooking and baking, (24) l 239; (25) l 4; (57) l 139, a favorite dish being "eier schmaltz", (36) l 36—7; (49) l 208; (60) l 137; (66) l 278—9; (72) l 95. Cakes of all kinds are enumerated, all being varieties of fried cakes: schmalzig kuechen, (13) l 177; leckuechen, (13) l 107; (66) l 40; krapfen, (8) l 355; (15) l 4; (69) l 248; (82) l 124; speckuechen und fladen, (26) l 351; (67) l 118; (83) l 55. For seasoning there were saffran,[9] (79) l 120; pepper, (67) l 119; salt, (57) l 140; cinnamon, (63) l 34. The higher classes were familiar with sugar, (13) l 107; (15) l 261; (50) l 17; raisins, almonds, figs, (15) l 261; sweetmeats, (50) l 17.

Included in the fruits and vegetables are: cabbage, (7) l 217; (63) l 34; turnips, (10) l 54; (15) l 274; (32) l 45; (80) l 10; radishes, (64) l 266; plums, (11) l 80; apples and pears, (15) l 263. Miscellaneous foods are: roots, (57) l 140; cress, (31) l 26; (58) l 70.

Drink.[10] That drinking, often to excess, must have been universal in the time of Sachs is evident from references made to it in his Fspe. In plays of a moralizing nature it is to be expected that excessive drinking should be regarded with disfavor. In (5) l 471—2; (6) l 133—5; (7) l 121 and (68) l 364 ff the drinker is taught that nothing but harm can come from a life of dissipation.

The nobles, or those belonging to the so-called better classes, regarded wine as a staple beverage: (3) l 184; (5) l 87; (6) l 121—2; (8) l 234; (14) l 73; (15) l 241; (31) l 28; (50) l 20. Drinking was a common vice with the clergy, (9) l 66; (13) l 208; (27) (37) l 52; (41) l 325; (65) l 342; (69) l 96. Other classes are equal offenders; the innkeeper, (72) l 17 ff; the peddlar's wife, (66) l 93—5; the artisan, (9) l 146; (13) l 79; (78) l 124; (64) l 1—15; lanzknecht, (13) l 254; peasant, (4) l 285; (9) l

[9] Hagelstange, p 120.

[10] Am Rhyn, p 258; Bauer, p 273—298; Bartels, p 44; Hagelstange, p 121—123; Gerdes, p 44.

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103; (10) l 111; (46) l ff; (67) l 61 ff; (78) l 69; (82) l 96; peasant women, (34) l 76; (37) (60) l 139—41; servants, (4) l 146; (10) l 142 ff; (27) l 186; vagabonds, (25) l 240; (51) l 108.

Among the wines are the following varieties: reynfal (a kind of southern wine), (6) l 121; (46) l 19; pinol, (6) l 121; maluasier (malmsy), (6) l 121; (15) l 241; (16) l 257; absinth, (5) l 431; Welschwein, (6) l 122; rumenier (a kind of Italian wine) (6) l 122; claret, (16) l 262; curs (Corsican wine) (50) l 20; (83) l 98; sweet wine, (50) l 20; muscatel, (83) l 58; Elsässer wine, (53) l 19; Rhine wine, (83) l 58. Next in importance is brandy, (13) l 98; (34) l 176; (51) l 296; (66) l 40; (63) l 113; (53) l 276.

Beer was a more common beverage with the peasant, (9) l 66; (19) l 286; (25) l 231; weisbier, (6) l 144; (11) l 71; (80) l 273; piersuppen, (58) l 141.

Because of the relative cheapness of wine and beer it was considered a disgrace to have to drink water, (9) l 67; (13) l 112; (27) l 184; (78) l 39. In the rural districts, however, milk was drunk, (10) l 53; (37) l 4, as well as buttermilk, (11) l 76; (42) l 200.

CLOTHING[11]

References to the wearing apparel and equipment of the noble are not frequent: coat, (81) l 179; boots and spurs, (13) l 238; (81) l 180; (83) l 29; to these may be added the very useful saddle-bag, (15) l 122; (27) l 149; (70) l 121; (76) ff l 99; (78) l 154; (81) l 189.

The wardrobe of the peasant is more complete, including: coat, (22) l 88; (36) l 126; (54) l 191; (59) l 192; (69) l 29; blouse (kitel), (9) l 95; (13) l 52; (15) l 195; (19) l 152; (54) l 189; (62) l 157; (69) l 29; trousers, (13) l 52; (22) l 89; (69) l 43; (79) l 36; shirt, (22) l 89; Bruch, taschen und Messer (4) l 439; (22) l 89—90; (28) l 251—2; (49) l 254—5; small coat (joppen), (22) l 89; (77) l 41; jacket (gippn), (69) l 29; boots, (13) l 52;

[11] Bartels, p 44, 88; Gerdes, p 1—2; 45—49; Hagelstange, p 49—50; Am Rhyn, p 263—264; Bauer, p 120, 167.

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(22) l 90; (62) l 155; (79) l 36; doublet, (32) l 62; gloves, (79) l 11; cap, (59) l 165; felt hat, (79) l 12; with feathers, (62) l 156.

Interesting are the colors of the garments: blaben rock, (54) l 191; (59) l 192; schwartzen Kitel (54) l 189; gelbn kittel, (19) l 152; grün lündisch tuch, (77) l 36; (78) l 80; röslein roten rock, (60) l 79; praun hosen, (69) l 43.

While with men's garments those of the lower class are most frequently mentioned by Sachs, the reverse is true with regard to women's clothes. The dress of the peasant woman is given little attention, but on innumerable occasions reference is made to expensive articles of clothing, usually the gift of a lover to his mistress. Included are: cloaks or mantles of various kinds, (3) l 188; (5) l 161; (7) l 371; (9) l 150; (15) l 189; (18) l 106; (57) l 157; (73) l 148; marten coats, (3) l 188; (15) l 190; hoods or caps, (7) l 372; (15) l 190; (57) l 380; nightcap, (32) l 64; embroidered necklaces, (57) l 380; (65) l 38; white boots, slippers, (57) l 155; Ornaments mentioned are: ring, (8) 105; (39) l 397; (49) l 120; (50) l 118; (57) l 112; (73) l 148; jewels, (7) l 372; (8) l 105; (49) l 119; (50) l 104; chains, (8) l 105; (40) l 136; (50) l 104; (73) l 148; rubies, sapphires, diamonds, (49) l 246; facilet, (5) l 160; (39) ff l 393; corals, (57) l 156.

Only a few details concerning the dress of the peasant woman have been noted: girdle and veil, (54) l 48; girdle, (66) l 41, yellow gloves, (25) l 26; blue cloth for a petticoat, (25) l 25; red purse, (25) l 26; (54) l 248.

MARRIAGE[12]

There are only two plays which furnish any information regarding the marriage customs of the times (36) (39). Frequently, however, Hochzeit is mentioned as a popular festivity, especially by women, (9) l 112; (45) l 9; (78) l 78.

In (36) l 115 ff we find the beginning of negotiations on the part of the groom's family. The property mentioned here that would be given to the bridal pair is of course of slight

[12] For marriage customs see Hagelstange, p 57 ff; Bartels, p 52 ff; Bauer, p 126 ff; Gerdes, p 55 ff.

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value, most of the articles being cast-offs. They include a black cow, goat, goose, lame horse, two laying hens, noppensack (eine mit Noppen gestopfte Bettdecke, Grimm), a blue coat, a sickle, ax, mallet, hay fork, dung fork, flail, and plow. The betrothal in (39) is more formal, there being an exchange of presents, l 394 ff. The youth gives his betrothed a groschen and facilet while she, in return, presents him with a ring.[13]

To the neighbors the wedding banquet was undoubtedly the most attractive feature of the festivities. Usually there was no limit to the amount and variety of the food prepared for the occasion,[14] but in (36) l 149—56 the relatives must have been parsimonious as one guest complains of the quality of food served. This is a survival of the old Fspe motiv, Keller 104.

Another occasion that was popular with the women of the day was a christening.[15] It is mentioned once by Sachs (45) l 9; [it was apperently a simple ceremony in this instance and only a few guests were invited.]

DEATH CUSTOMS[16]

Sachs is not writing tragedies and death, seriously considered, is to him foreign to the Fsp. Yet in (60), when the man has successfully feigned death, the activities of his wife suggest some of the burial customs of the times. She has promised to bury him in a red coat, but she frugally decides that a "sewhawt" will do just as well. The neighbor suggests the usual customs for caring for the body, l 247 ff:

„Wen irn gern wider lebent het,
Wie wen ir in verhaisen thet,
Ins grüne thal mit drey pfund wachs
Und etwan mit eim kloben flachs
Und eim silbren opfer darzu?"

She offers further assistance and will take him, l 265 ff:

„In die Kirchen mit der proces,
Auch das man der kerczen nit verges
Und all glocken leuten thu."

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[13] Bartels, p 53; Bauer, p 126.

[14] Hagelstange, p 66; Bartels, p 54.

[15] Gerdes, p 55.

[16] Rehm, H. S., „Deutsche Volksfeste und Volkssitten". Leipzig. 1908. p 112 cf also; Hagelstange, p 241; Bartels, p 59.

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In this case, however, all formalities are dispensed with. The widow (84) ff l 25 appears in mourning out of respect for her dead husband.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

While Sachs makes innumerable references to the administration of justice by mentioning the penalties meted out to criminals and by referring to the settlement of disputes, he avoids such vulgar court scenes as his predecessors considered to be necessary to put action in their Fspe.

The judge appears only twice in the Fspe of Sachs (5) (82), and both times he is merely the conventional settler of disputes. In many other plays, however, the judge is mentioned, but always as arbiter. Most frequently in the case of disputes, the woman threatens to bring complaint against her husband, (4) l 343; (49) l 304; (64) l 316; in (46) l 298—99 the brother of the woman will prefer the charges. At other times the injured party seeks redress from the courts: in (32) l 169 Simplicius will complain to the Burgomaster against Reichenberger, who has not returned the money left in his care; in (21) l 80 Tötsch hopes to secure judgment from Grampas for the loss of his black cock; the peasant (77) l 223 will accuse Eulenspiegel of theft. That courts were not always fair is suggested by reference to unscrupulous jurists (14) l 202.

A different function of the court is shown in (25) l 21—23, where the peasant has to appear before the court to answer his landlord's charges of non-payment of rent.

The only reference to the court itself is in (15) l 139—41, where the peasant states that the court under the linden is speedier than the one in town.[17]

Whenever an oath is to be taken, the primitive method is used, that of holding up two fingers: (12) ff l 95; (38) ff l 66; (59) ff l 148; (62) ff l 337; (68) ff l 178; (73) ff l 82; (76)

[17] Bartels, p 59—65; 89; Hagelstange, p 161—221; Gerdes, Chap. II.

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ff l 340.[18] A means of trial almost obsolete at the time of Sachs is alluded to-the hot iron test (38).[19]

An important personage in the management of local affairs was the village mayor. He is represented as having charge of such activities as the Nasentanz (20). It was also his duty to blow his horn to give the signal to turn out the stock upon the commons, (22) l 251—2; (34) l 39—41; (79) l 143—6.

If Sachs is sparing in his information about court procedures, he shows many of the punishments meted out to criminals. They include: stocks for beggars, (51) l 47; imprisonment for debt, (31) l 49—50; and death by, the wheel, (70) l 268; hanging, (5) l 193; (27) l 28; (59) l 101; (77) l 100—103; drowning, (61) l 378—9.[20]

WOMAN

At the time of Sachs the social position of woman was not very high. She was looked upon more as a help to man than as an individual.[21] In law she held a subordinate position, could not be witness, and was frequently punished in a different way from her superior, man.[22] The entire houshold authority was vested in the man, yet the woman was more respected than the Fspe would indicate. The woman, of course, has the care of the children[23] (52) 150—2. The daughter was taught how to manage a home and do the necessary work around the house while the boy was brought up to be a useful citizen, farmer, artisan, or merchant, depending upon the social position of the parents. In addition to being taught to work, the children had to receive some religious instruction,[24] such as memorizing the Lord's Prayer, (52) l 168.

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[18] Heinemann, F., „Der Richter und die Rechtspflege". Leipzig. 1900. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. No III. p 9, 11.

[19] Heinemann, p 30.

[20] Punishments enumerated by Heinemann, p 100ff, „Enthauptung, Hinrichtung durch Beilfall, Einmauern, Riemenschneiden, Blenden".

[21] Freytag, p 190.

[22] Hagelstange, p 78—79.

[23] Hagelstange, p 81—86

[24] Bartels, p 58.

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In (5) l 480 ff and (6) l 350 ff Sachs advises severity in the training of the young, so that they will be well-behaved and of moral character when they grow up.

Specific references to children in the Fspe of Sachs are rare. In (64) l 33—4 the woman complains that the man does not support his children, and in (42) l 19—24 and (71) l 155—9 children are regarded as not being always a comfort to their parents. An exaggerated characterization of peasant children is given in (52) l 96 ff: they are lousy, shaggy, itchy, scabby, hunchbacked, uncombed, ignorant, uncouth, greedy, rough-skinned and ill-mannered.

Because of the subordinate position woman held in mediaeval society she beecame the object of ridicule in literature.[25] What appealed to the humorous side of the writers was that the woman should not always be content to subject herself to the discipline of her lord and master. While according to the Bible woman should obey man, the Ubele-Wip-Dichter found that this was not always the case and attributed her stubbornness to the machinations of the devil, (18) l 78 ff; (62) l 417. Adam, Samson, David, Solomon, Aristotle, Virgil and others became victims of woman's wiles and it was not surprising that the common man should have difficulty in holding his wife in check.[26]

The quarrelsomeness of the woman is shown in several of the Fspe of Sachs: (4) l 454 ff; (10) l 125 ff; (18) l 288 ff; (28) l 115; (34) l 279 ff; (49) l 180—6; (57) l 335—53; (62) l 375 to 88; (64) l 328—39; (66) ff l 122; (76) l 166—9; (82) l 45 ff. At other times quarrels are told about, (12) l 144 ff; (26) l 1—11; (36) l 287—94. The hen-pecked husband often declares that the intermittent fever is preferable to a nagging wife, (26) l 5—7; (28) l 13—15; (36) l 289—91. Joseph (26) l 17—18 speaks thus of the temper of his wife:

„Wann es hat mich aus meinem Hauss
Der sauer Rauch gebissen aus."
l 23—24 „Weder zu beth oder zu tisch
Sindt mir Kifferbes alzeit frisch."

[25] Lier, p 47; Geiger, p 266—7.

[26] Breitzmann, Chap I.

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In (49) l 63—4 the man finds his wife so disagreeable that he would prefer to live with lions and dragons.

The symbols of mastery in the home were the "bruch, messer und taschen", (4) l 439; (28) l 250—1; (49) l 254—5. In (28), in the struggle for the mastery, the woman is successful.[27]

Sachs liked to poke fun at the married men by frequent allusion to the legend of "Das Pachen am deutschen Hof". According to tradition there was a side of bacon at this inn which was to be given to the man who was the undisputed master in his household, (4) l 381; (12) l 22 ff; (28) l 40; (64) l 221. In (12) two peasants come to the inn with the intention of "bringing home the bacon". They assure the innkeeper that they are qualified in every particular. Since they are not accompanied by their wives, they are asked to produce fourteen witnesses. This they are unable to do, but they have no objection to taking an oath. When it is suggested that they go home and bring their wives, one of the peasants, Simon Frawenknecht, rebels, admitting that he is only master in his own home when his wife is out, or if he will do her will. She calls him "esel, narr und dropffen" and forces him to cut wood and draw water. She throws water on him when he is drunk, and whenever he has ventured combat, he has come out a poor second in the fight. Similarly, the defeated husband in (28) l 117 ff has to do the housework. The second peasant in (12) fares no better than the first as he can only preserve obedience by force.

The pugilistic wife does not hold her honors modestly. She often boasts that it is a common practice for her to put her husband under a bench and "ain ayerschmalz auf im essen", (36) l l 36—7; (66) l 278—9. Again: (ich)

„Thu in offt in mein kammer spern
Und thu in als ein Laubfrosch kern."

(34) l 299—300; (36) l 265—6; (62) l 385—6; (63) l 65—6.

To many men the quarrelsome wife is "ein böser Teufel". The servant in (36) l 259—61 says,

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[27] Cf Könnecke Bilderatlas, p 101.

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„Sie ist ein Teufl und gar kein weib,
Die teglich quelet meinen Leib
Mit kieffen, zancken und mit gronen."

Similarly, (28) l 60; (62) l 417.

The main faults of the woman are given in the following descriptions:

(60) l 43ff: „Du pist in dem haushalten treg
Und heltest mich nerlich und leg,
Pist zornig, poshaftiger Art
Helstu mir alzeit widerpart
Und wilt alzeit der sach recht han
Sam sey ich fraw, und du der man."

(63) l 187ff: „Die ist unghorsam und ueppig,
Stolcz, aigensinnig und aufschnüppig,
Helt den man gar unwert und leg,
Und ist sie etwan faul und treg.
Wen sie etwan gen marck get aus,
Kumbt sie lancksam wider zu Haus."

(71) l 121ff: „Ein weib all frist
Ein unrüiges uebel ist,
Ist albeg klagpar und geschweczig,
Arglistig, mistrew, selczam, wanckelmütig,
Auch zenckisch, zornig und gancz wüetig."

(73) l 288ff: „Hoffertig, stolcz, steckt vol fürwicz
Zu erfarn jenes und dicz,
Seit wanckel, unstet wie ein ror,
Und als was man euch saget vor,
Palt glawbig, unferschwign und geschweczig,
Argwönisch, poshaft und aufseczig."

The deceptive quality seems to be almost universal, (26) l 210; (37) (38) (43) (45) (46) (54) (60) (74). In many instances the woman stole from her husband, the usual method being to take the money received for market produce and hide it in the cow-stable,[28] (10) l 99; (37) l 310; (38) l 178; (42) l 202—3; (72) l 279—81; (76) l 126—31; (77) l 25—30.

Most of the domestic trouble can be traced to the husband's failure to be master in his own home,[29] according to Sachs, who is a firm believer in the principle that man must be the ruler. In (26) l 37—8 Joseph bewails the inefficacy of soft words. He says that if he takes "Süssholtz im Maul, So thuts wie ein schelliger Gaul". The mild mannered husband must often "den olgötzen tragen", (49) l 260; (64) l 208. The man in (49) finds that

[28] Bauer, p 189.

[29] Hagelstange, p 78

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neither soft words, precious stones, nor roots have any taming effect, while in (28) l 30 ff the husband regrets that in his youth he allowed his wife to have her own way. But often harsh words are not sufficient to subdue the wife:

(26) l 55—6: „Wenn ichs mit dem Wort du schelten
Mit siebenen thut sie mir vergelten."

If necessary, the best method of preserving peace in the household is to beat the wife. This advice is given to Joseph[30] (26) l 390—1, who resolves, "Auf iren Kopff sol ich ir legen Fünffinger kraut". In (28) the man who attempts this form of discipline is worsted, but in (82) the results are better. The husband in (54) threatens to beat his wayward wife that her body will be black, blue, and yellow, l 158. In (64) l 284—91 the man, who has heard that black cherry water is good to make a sullen woman talk, uses a cherry cudgel as a substitute. In (4) l 442—3 the advice is given to take an oak cudgel and beat the wife between the ears.

In cases of domestic trouble where the differences become so acute as to threaten violence, there is recourse to the law courts. The woman will either complain to the judge, (4) l 343; (49) l 304; (64) l 316; or to a relative or friend, (38) l 222; (46) l 298—9; (63) l 54—6; (66) l 233; (82) l 134.

While Sachs has continued the "böse Frau" type of woman, he does not believe that all women are evil or that there can not be happiness in the home. The stock character was too familiar with his audience for him to omit it altogether, but it is modified to such an extent that one can trace the true opinion Sachs had of womanhood. Solomon (26) l 221 ff tells Marcolfus that woman is faithful and gracious, humble and capable of making the home pleasant for the entire family. Of the good woman one hears the following praise, (71) l 103 ff:

„Ein weib der eren tregt ein kron,
Die thuet erfrewen iren mon;
Mit holtseligen schimpf und schercz
Erquicket sie sein trawrig hercz,
Ist sein gehuelf an allen orten,
Mit senften und dröstlichen worten
Dröst sie in in aller anfechtung,
In Angst, verfolgung und durchechtung
Stet sie im pey in aller not."

[30] Cf also source, Bocc. IX, 9; also, Eselbrugge, 1436, Lübeck. Fsp.

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Examples of good women are found in (35) (45) (56) (84).

Sachs probably gives his own view on the marriage question when he states his belief that both husband and wife should know their place. In (12) l 368 ff the innkeeper says that the young man must bring up his wife in house wifery and virtue. She obeys him because she loves him. Such a woman, Solomon says, is more voluable than jewels and gold. In (63) l 293—8 the old woman suggests to the young wife that a mutual understanding is necessary for happiness. In (64) l 100—1 the mother gives the following advice to her daughter:

„Waist, senfte wort stillen den zorn,
Ein hart wort zünt den hader on."

Yet before marriage can be happy, jealousy must be overcome. In (42) a man is given an indeterminate sentence in purgatory for having this fault, and in (45) the jealous man hears his innocent wife make a confession which he thinks condemns her.

Prating gossip is also detested by Sachs. The personification of gossip, an old woman, succeeds in separating a couple who have been happily wed for thirty years (18). Another old woman (39) does her best to prevent a marriage. Interference by outsiders occurs in (28) (38) (54) (64) (66) (82).

Among minor points regarding the marriage relation one might add the necessity in using care in the selection of a husband (35) . In (42) l 10—45 two members of the clergy argue as to whether or not the marriage state is blissful. The abbot regrets that he can not marry, but the monk prefers to remain single. In (71) l 200—205 two philosophers debate on the same subject and it seems to be agreed that for a philosopher at least marriage is a handicap.[31]

The mother-in-law question is also presented. In (64) l 351—4 the man is afraid of her; in (56) she helps to keep her daughter virtuous, while in (74) she is a matchmaker.

Immorality of the times. While the immorality of the times is exaggerated in the Fspe, even in the plays of Sachs, it is evident that there was a general laxity of morals during this pe-

[31] Breitzmann, p 177.

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riod.[32] Some of the causes for this state of affairs were: the desire for luxury[33] on the part of the lower classes, the openness of the punishments, the Rockenstube,[34] and the dance. In (8) the faithful Eckhart advises against the dance, l 239—40:

„Von dem du kombst herwider gantz
Vol böser unkeuscher begier."

With Sachs there is scarcely a play in which mention is not made of some marital unfaithfulness or immorality: on the part of the woman, (4) l 260—1; (9) l 71; (10) l 100—1; (12) l 174—5; (18) l 138—43; (21) l 265; (37) l 7 ff; (38) l 159; (40) l 132 ff; (43) l 62 ff; (46) l 34; (54) l 9; (56) l 40; (57) l 198—200; (61) l 316 ff; (62) l 413; (69) l 4—5; (72) l 375; (74) l 85 ff; on the part of the man, (4) l 265; (10) l 117—18; (18) l 104; (41) l 135; (62) l 19 ff; (65) l 31; (84) l 78 ff. The priest is the favorite of the woman in (9) (10) (12) (21) (37) (38) (54) (56) (57) (62) (69) (72); at other times it is a wealthy man, (40) (43) (61) (74), while often the nature of the adultery is in doubt, (4) (18) (46). With the men it is usually the maidservant who is the object of their amours, (4) (10) (65) in (62) l 19 ff an attempt is made to win the affections of an innkeeper's wife, and in (18) and (41) the woman in the case is a neighbor.

In deceiving their husbands the women often solicit help. In (43) and (57) servants are called upon to help their mistresses out of difficulties; in (40) the widow makes use of a servant to secure a lover for her, while in (84) the maid helps her mistress to remain virtuous. The travelling scholar helps the woman (37), a neighbor woman assists in (54), and in (74) the mother herself acts as matchmaker.

In (37) (38) (40) (69) the results of immorality are disasterous to the woman, while in (62) and (84) the men who attempt to seduce women get into trouble. In (43) (46) (54) (57) (74) cleverness of the woman saves her and in (61) she is not aware that she has done wrong. Similarly, the men in (65) are able to get out of trouble by turning the tables on their accuser.

[32] Hagelstange, p 69.

[33] Bauer, p 160—163.

[34] Hagelstange, p 166—68.

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AMUSEMENTS.[35]

The amusements belonging distinctly to the nobility were largely warlike in their nature: hunting was a popular diversion, (3) l 192; (50) l 108; stag hunting as a sport for women,[36] (35) l 252. The animals usually hunted included: the bear, (15) l 177; stag and doe, (15) l 177; hare, (8) l 194; (15) l 177; wolf, (4) l 194; (12) l 269; wildboar, (8) l 194; chamois, (8) l 204. Other amusements that appealed to the sporting blood of the young nobility were: racing, (rennen) (2) l 45; (3) l 190; (6) l 263; (15) l 120; (35) l 55; (50) l 107; (61) l 76; fighting, wrestling and the like, (3) l 190; (6) l 105; (8) l 181; jousting,[37] (1) l 97; (6) l 263; (35) l 55; (50) l 107; (61) l 76; jumping, (1) l 97; (3) l 191; tobogganing, (7) l 273; (8) l 219; (35) l 56; (50) l 105; "hofieren", (1) l 98; (8) l 244; (35) l 56; (61) l 75; banqueting, (7) l 272; (50) l 106; (78) l 179; dancing, (1) l 97; (3) l 192; (6) l 106; singing, (1) l 98; harp playing,[38] (1) l 98; (6) l 104; masquerading,[39] (6) l 281; (8) l 225; (7) l 272.

The amusements most popular with the peasant were: dancing,[40] (9) l 112; (15) l 226; (36) l 49; (78) l 78; (79) l 96;

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[35] Bartels, p 66—72; 88; Gerdes, p 51—55, 58—62; Hagelstange, p 221—268; Bauer, p 122—125; Am Rhyn, p 252—5.

[36] Bauer, p 120.

[37] Scherr, Johannes, „Deutsche Kultur- und Sittengeschichte". Leipzig. 1902. Vol III, Chap 1, p 30. „Er wurde bis gegen 1560 hin turniert."

[38] Bauer, p 122.

[39] Bauer, p 122 mentions among the other diversions for the rich: music on the lyre and harp, and pets including the starling, sparrowhawk, jackdaw, parrot, squirrel, ermine, marten, weasel, fox, falcon, cat, and white mice.

[40] Gerdes, p 58—62; Bartels, p 70; Hagelstange, p 250—1.

Dancing was a general diversion at this time, being indulged in by both high and low classes. There was, however, a great diversity in the dances, those of the noble being more decorous than those of the peasants, which were often mere leapings.

In summer the dancing took place on the meadow, usually under the linden. In winter the threshing floor or a room was used. Music was provided by fiddles, trumpets, and sackpipes, often accompanied by song (cf our rural dances, or dancing games — „Pop Goes the Weasel", „Skip to my Lou, my Darling", etc., as well as the old folk songs used in dancing, as

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round dance (reyen), (4) l 73; (9) l 112; (15) l 232; (78) l 78; May dance, (78) l 77; hannentanz, (15) l 230; nasentanz, (20) l 8; evening dance, (6) l 315; (46) l 11; apprentice dance, (35) l 29. In the dance the wreath played an important part, (4) l 72; (10) l 32; musical instruments in use included, the reed, (20) l 90; (76) l 104; and the sack pipe,[41] (15) l 232; (24) l 11; (76) l 104. Rockenstube,[42] (8) l 173; (9) l 107; (10) l 3; (15) l 273; (20) l 130; (46) l 124—5; (67) l 201; (78) l 73; (80) l 9.

Kirchweih or Kiertag,[43] (9) l 112; (10) l 31 (13) l 101; (15) l 158; (21) l 153; (37) l 315; (40) l 282; (54) l 49; (69) l 31; (77) l 37; (78) l 78; (79) l 96.

Minor amusements were; bowling,[44] (9) l 113; (78) l 79; cock fighting, (9) l 113; (78) l 79; shooting at a mark,[45] (82) l 16 ff; "mit dem Krönlein stechen"[46] (8) l 216.

At Shrovetide[47] all classes joined in the celebration, St Peter (67) l 196 ff having one experience of this kind;

„Oats, Peas, Beans, and Barley Grow"). Among the names of the dances were: Firlefei, Hoppaldei, Gimpel-Gampel, Troialdei, die Stadelweise, etc.

The peasant round dances consisted of much springing and were called by the higher classes Ochsenreigen and Kälberspringen. These dances were not always morally conducted and were favorite places for the young knight to meet with a love adventure.

[41] Hagelstange, p 252 adds the fiddle, lyre, drum, and tambourine.

[42] Die Rockenstube — Bauer, p 215; Gerdes, p 51; Bartels, p 73 Hagelstange, p 266—8. Originally the Rockenstube (Spinnstube) was an innocent diversion. The youths and girls of the village met to spend an enjoyable evening in work, song and story telling. Later it became a place where all kinds of immorality existed. Fights were of common occurrence and murder was frequently committed, cf Sachs (10).

[43] For the details of the celebration of Kirchweih see Gerdes, p 53; Hagelstange, p 236; Rehm, p 48—52; Bartels, p 71.

[44] Bartels, p 72; Hagelstange, p 264.

[45] Rehm, p 52—3. Societies were formed for shooting as a preparation for defense. At first the bow and arrow was used, later the cross-bow and finally the musket. Most of the shoots occurred in the spring. The prize for markmanship was a wreath, bestowed by one of the pretty maidens of the village.

[46] Rehm, p 17—18; Bartels, p 67; Gerdes, p 54.

[47] Rehm, p 21—27; Hagelstange, p 235; Bartels, p 69.

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„Da hab wir gehalten fasnacht,
Haben in die sackpfeuffen gsungen,
Gepuelt, gedanczet, und gesprungen,
Kugelt und gespielt in den pret
Den tag hinein in die nacht spet.
Dann ging wir erst int rocken stueben
Mit den maiden und den rospueben."

References to Shrovetide or to the Shrovetide play may be found in a majority of the Fspe: (1) l 389; (2) l 5; (6) l 190; (8) l 215; (9) l 10; (12) l 352; (15) l 5; (16) l 8; (19) l 297, (20) l 328; (21) l 312; (24) l 4; (36) l 2; (39) l 5; (41) l 7; (42) l 134; (60) l 187; (62) l 94; (67) l 37; (72) l 206; (75) l 4; (76) l 407; (84) l 400; (85) l 2. In connection with the Shrovetide festivities there was the masquerade (Mummschantz) (6) l 34, and the Schembart-Laufen,[48] (6) 193.

A vice enjoyed by the rich and poor alike was gambling, (6) l 84—7:

„Das spil ist jetzundt gar gemein
Bey alten und jungen dessgleichen
Beide bey armen and den reichen,
Bey geistlich, weltlich, fraw und man."

Also, (2) l 104 ff; (6) l 19; (14) l 89; (13) l 208; (66) l 16—18; (78) l 124; (81) l 21 ff. Cards and dice are the forms of gambling most frequenty mentioned: (2) l 105; (14) l 89; (50) l 12; (53) l 31; (66) l 18; (77) l 83; (81) l 21. Other gambling devices were, chess, (5) l 122; backgammon,[49] (5) l 123; (53) l 31.

[48] See part I.

[49] Bauer, p 122; Bartels, p 72.

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Part IV — The Intellectual Life of the Times

The actors in the panorama revealed by Sachs are little suited to present an accurate outline of the intellectual life of the times. The general state of learning is expressed by the servant in (80) l 171 ff:[1]

„Ey, Herr, er ist ain pawers mon;
Was solt er den in der schuel thon?
Er ist in kainer schuel nie gwesen,
Kan nur schlehen von hecken lesen
Und schreiben mit der mistgabel."

The fact that the servant has wholly misunderstood the quack emphasizes the use of a conventional stage situation that was perfectly in character. In (42), when the monk tells the peasant he is in purgatory, the latter replies, l 260—1:

„Ach, sag mirs teudsch, ich bit sich drum!
Ich kann warlich kein Laperdein (Latein)."

In (8) l 53 Fürwitz says, "Belthuancia, hast dus gehört" and the youth answers, "Ey sag mirs Teutsch! ich bin nit glehrt."

The ability to read and write was regarded as a sign of special culture. In (2) l 57 the doctor says that he is fond of reading;[2] in (83) l 162, the noble has a well-stocked library; youths are advised to read good books, (6) l 103, (8) l 140.[3] In only one instance are the requisites of an educated man given, and these are for humorous effect. A doctor, presumably of philosophy, must know something about alchemy, and must be able to add distinction to all social gatherings, as well as be proficient in the fashionable sports (83) l 5 ff.

It is strange, then, that Sachs could expect his audience to understand the many classical and Biblical references that are scattered throughout the plays. A partial list of the classical figures includes: Venus, (2) l 15, (61) l 324; Achilles and Polixene,

[1] Hagelstange, p 86.

[2] Hagelstange, p 86; Am Rhyn, p 311—13.

[3] Bauer, p 122 suggests that even in the castle, little reading was done, on account of the poor light.

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(1) l 111—13; Jason and Medea, (1) l 137—8; Paris and Helen (1) l 280—1; Bacchus, (5) l 92; Jupiter (5) l 325; (24) l 89; (78) l 1 ff; Tantalus, (7) l 100; Socrates (3) l 271; Xerxes, (5) l 122; (14) l 265; Herodotus (5) l 123; Pyrrhus, (14) l 266; Alexander, (5) l 426; (14) l 266; (44); Plutarch, (5) l 135; Cyrus, (5) l 300; Augustus, (5) l 330; Claudius, (5) l 332; Tiberius, (5) l 336; Cicero, (7) l 321; (8) l 136; (14) l 52; Crassus, (7) l 325; (30) l 241; Caesar (7) l 363; (30) l 66; Aesop, (7) l 151; (85) l 7; Midas, (7) l 295; Diogenes (14) l 372; (44); Dionysius, (47) l 15; Nero, (7) l 363; Pericles, (14) l 229; Seneca, (14) l 76; Thales and Solon, (71) l 9—10; Plato, (71) l 121; Aristotle, (5) l 149; Epicurus, (5) l 209; Hadrian, (14) l 253.

Authors alluded to in addition to these belonging to the classical period are; Petrarch, (7) l 476; (8) l 139; (14) l 248; Boccaccio, (68) l 101; (84) l 4; Freydank (5) l 395; (7) l 90; Sebastian Brant, (11) l 313.

BIBLICAL REFERENCES.

The Lord himself is a leading character in two of the plays, (52) and (67). The list of other references shows how familiar the Nürnberg shoemaker was with scriptural stories. Sampson and Delilah, (1) l 123; the Israel plague, (5) l 80; Sodom, (5) l 84—5; Isaiah, (5) l 104; Joel, (5) l 106; Levites, (5) l 108; Paul, (5) are for humorus effect. A doctor, presumably of philosophy, must l 111; (7) l 187; (26) l 311; Holofernes, (5) l 296; Simon, (5) l 297; David, (5) l 87; (7) l 479; Lot, (5) l 412; sons of Eli, (5) l 414; Herod, (5) l 418; John the Baptist, (5) l 419; (53) l 86—7; Adam and Eve, (52); Patriarchs, (26) l 130 ff; Hamon, (5) l 295; Ecclestiacus (7) l 96; Job, (7) l 382.

Solomon, however, seemed to have been the author's favorite, to judge from the great number of quotations alleged to have come from the wisest of men: (5) l 165—6, 248—9, 256—7, 287—8; (7) l 81—2, 109, 122—4, 129—31; (8) l 113; (12) l 377—9; (14) l 139—40; (17) l 123—4, 183—6, 253—4; (31) l 119 to 21, 389—92; (43) l 321—4; (49) l 55—6, 67—8; (76) l 420 ff.

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TREES AND PLANTS.

If one can judge from the Fspe of Sachs, the knowledge of plants was not very extensive at this time. Not only is there no trace of a systematic study of the plant world, but plants, as well as the other objects of nature, appeal to the mediaeval mind, only as they are useful, or, sometimes, objectionable. Few trees are mentioned except as a part of a conventional nature description: (1) l 327 reference is made to an oak tree; in (3) l 3 ff the oaks are yellow, the pines stiff and the forest covered with snow; the cedar (68) l 95; linden, (15) l 139; (72) l 309; fig, (56) l 84.

Flowers are even rarer than trees, the sole instance being the violet (75) l 40, where it serves as the emblem of spring. It is called the "mayen plümlein". Roots are of frequent occurrence, since they were regarded as having healing qualities. Among the roots are: wormwood, fennel, bethony, camomile, celandine, basil, majoram, rue, lavender, (49) l 193—6; figuratively, "Geitz sei ein Wurtzel aller sünd", (7) l 188; "Eid schwern ist leichter denn ruben graben", (38) l 71; (59) l 106; to talk sweetly is to take, "süssholz ins Maul", (38) l 226.

(39) l 55—7:

„Wie das ein ungeschmaltzen kraut,
Und auch ein ungwanderter gsel
Sindt nichtsen werdt."

(58) l 359—60:

„Wer nit mueg rueben essen,
Der mues zu leczt den grebel fressen?"

BIRDS

Sachs was no more interested in the study of birds and animals than he was in the study of plants. Concerning the life of the bird, how it builds its nest, the kind of eggs it lays, and its economic value as a destroyer of insects and weed seeds, Sachs has nothing to say; he only mentions them as a part of a nature description or in a figurative sense. Owls feature in a description in (3) l 13 and in (62) l 181 the noise of owls is mentioned. The eagle occurs in (7) l 145; in (27) l 247 the robbers will swoop down upon their victim as an "aer auf einer Hennen".

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The cuckoo is the personification of foolishness (23) l 209, and (35) l 279, "Ein Guckug ich geschossen haben" (I have been made a fool of). The raven occurs as a pest (78) l 35; to signify color, (37) l 222, "Kolschwartz wie ein Rab". The wife in (49) l 184 says her husband could not earn enough to sustain life in a goldfinch. In (10) l 154 the maid says to the servant after the gypsy has narrated his shortcomings, "Kuntz, heiss die Amschel (blackbird) dir mehr singen". If one is successful the storks will not roost in one's house, (81) l 26. Doves are mentioned in a variety of connections; Armut (3) l 39 appears with two dove's wings, and is described as being barefooted as a dove, l 96; in (77) l 61 dove's blood is used in a charm; light women are called birds and doves, (9) l 149; (78) l 127.

That bird catching or bird liming must have been popular is evident from the frequent allusions to the practice: (27) l 25; (53) l 3; (82); "Ist mir der vogel auch entflogen", (6) l 239; (32) l 329. Reference is made to plucking "schwing federn" (27) l 241; (53) l 108. As epithets we find "schandvogel" (5) l 364 and "speyvogel", (53) l 271.

In order to show his acceptance of the fact that he world must be composed of all sorts of people, Sachs says,

(83) l 296,

„Wan ider fogel singt sein Gsang."

and (15) l 317—18,

„Ein ider fogel sing all frist,
Wie im sein schnabel gwachsen ist."

ANIMALS

With animals, those which are not mentioned as pests are usually considered figuratively. Sometimes, however, the noise of an animal is a detail of a nature description: of wolves, (3) l 14; (12) l 269; (62) l 182; of frogs, (11) l 106; (20) l 37.

Figurative allusions to animals are many. Bear — to roar like a bear, (37) l 299; "Ich waisz wol, dass du kein Bern stichst", (4) l 304—5 "die peren klaen saugen", (13) l 245; matchmakers as "perentreiber", (50) l 121; (57) l 367; (61) l 31. Fox — the fox tail is the symbol of flattery, (14) l 3; (65) l 72; (69) l

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84; woman is called "fuchswild", (49) l 350; (79) l 26; also, (5) l 250—1:

„Fuchs und Hurn list
Wol hundert tausendt faltig ist."

The tree — frog is used symbolically to denote the fate of unruly husbands, (34) l 299—300; (36) l 265—6; (62) l 385—6; (63) l 65—6.

The bat is not honorably mentioned. Pluto (3) l 90 and 93 has wings like a bat and is as blind and rapacious. The bat is also used in a charm (62) l 241.

The ape denotes either foolishness or ugliness; old women (19) l 96 are "murret und munckisch gleich den Affen"; (63) l 110, "Muerret und ghrunzelt gleich aim Affen". The priest (65) l 318 is "geneschich wie ein Aff"; (10) l 44, "Du siehts fast einem Affen gleich". As a symbol of foolishness, Eulenspiegel calls the innkeeper and his wife apes, (51) l 300; the priest, (41) l 318 says, "Also muss man schuchen die affen"; a wife calls her husband, "lieber Aff" (45) l 310; to make game of one is "ein Affenspiel", (42) l 229; (46) l 69; Affentanz is once mentioned, (4) l 71.

Of the lower animal forms one finds figurative use of: the serpent, (1) l 145, where love is a poisonous adder; the inquisitor says to Clas (53) l 214, "O, du gifftig, mördische Atter"; the man says the same to his wife, (56) l 180; dragons are better than old women, (49) l 63; wine is also compared to a serpent, (5) l 256—7:

„Es sey lindt, glat in dem Eingang,
Darnach so sey er wie ein Schlang."

The wife (49) l 68 is compared to a scorpion. Crickets are found in (7) l 154; (4) l 298, "Wie wirst mir ein Grillen im loch verkleiben."[4] The parable of the ant is mentioned, (7) l 152; anthills, (30) l 3; also (11) l 101—2:

„So wern die Narren in dir zabeln,
Wie Ameiss durch einander krabeln."

Domestic animals. With domestic animals one finds the same figurative expressions as with wild animal life. The horse — Gaul is a favorite epithet, "ein schelliger Gaul", (26) l 38; (82) l 138;

[4] „So bescheit bist du", Handchin, p 53.

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den alten Gaul, (74) l 68; a man "schnarcht wie ein Gaul", (20) l 62; (34) l 6; of young men it is said, (40) l 42, "Die sind auf disen Gaul zu Schlecht"; to be caught in an untruth is "auf einem faulen Pferdt erreiten"[5] (43) l 50; (53) l 203, "Ich wil im einen Rappen reissen" (I will make things uncomfortable for him).[6]

The ass — is used as an epithet, (12) l 144; (53) l 266; (62) l 108; (64) l 313; (85) l 213; in (54) l 109 a man is described as being as simple as "unsers Herr Gotts Pferdt".

The cow (38) l 118 "Man muss dir dein Ku widergeben" (I acknowledge that you are right); (53) l 349 Custor says, "Hat die Ku noch kain millich geben?" (have you not got anything from the dupe yet?) In one place there is a play on the words Kuh and Kunst, (41) l 144, "Er geht umb mit der schwartzen Kw".

The sheep seems to be the symbol of simplicity: narretsschaff (7) l 256; ein thorichts schaff, (6) l 28; ein toll schaff, (6) l 324; also as a symbol of humility, "wie ein schaff demütig" (49) l 48. A different meaning is suggested in (54) l 18, where a man ran "zornig wie ein Schaf überm Hof". Anyone who is uncouth is compared to a goat, (54) l 56; (72) l 218; (74) l 33; (85) l 232. In (69) l 30 the leaping of the goat is emphasized, "auf das sie springen wie die pöck" (but possibly Gemsbock is meant).

The pig also is considered a very unclean beast. The term is regularly applied to a drunken man, (46) l 39, "Grölzet wie ein Schwein"; (53) l 95; "truncken wie die schweyn"; (85) l 209, "du wueste saw". In (77) l 38 a man will get new clothes so that he will not have to look like a pig. An uncomplimentary way of saying that a man has been attentive to a girl is expressed in (62) l 198—9 and (65) l 44—5:

„Warfstu sie stecz mit augen an,
Wie ein dod saw auf eim misthauffen."

An equivalent for our, "It's enough to make a dog laugh", is "Das mög ein saw gelachen", (4) l 382; (28) l 228. In (82)

[5] Handschin, p 101.
[6] Handschin, p 104.

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l 72 a man has won, "das nechst nach dem Saw", Heintz (79) l 2 claims to be "wilder den Sewpluet". The maid in (57) l 329—30, after suggesting to her mistress a way out of her difficulties, says:

„So kumbt jr darvon ungeschlagen[7]
Und muss der Herr die Saw heimtragen."

In (70) l 238, robbers say of their victim, "den stich wir wie ein saw danider."

Figurative expressions involving poultry are: "Trot in wie ainer faister hennen" (65) l 95; in (83) l 102 a nose is described as being long enough for seven hens to roost upon it; the appellation "schnaphan" for mounted highwayman, is figurative (13) l 110; the acme of laziness is for one to sit and wait until a roast chicken flies in his mouth (7) l 159—60.

The dog and cat occupied an important place in the figurative language of the day. The cat is regularly the symbol of poverty, (21) l 88—9:

„Und wann ich auch also het than,
Wer unser Katz das beste Viech."

To be compelled to eat with cats denotes extreme poverty, (51) l 67; (80) l 120. Other figurative expressions are: (16) l 111, "also muss wir den Katzen strelen" (That's the way we must get around him); (7) l 307—8:

„Schawt, wie der gsel nach ehren stelt,
Wie die Katz nach dem Wasserbad."

The dog in figurative language was much the same as he is today. The priest (54) l 50, is the "stingiest dog"; in (49) l 41—2 the husband has this to say about his wife:

„Sie kifft und zancket alle stundt
Gleich wie ein alter ketten hundt."

The dog is frequently language in proverbial expressions: "Der hund geht mir umb vor dem Liecht" (I suspect something) (4) l 253—4; (37) l 20; (46) l 10; (69) l 3; "Zwen hund allein bleiben nicht eins an einem bein" (Two lovers are too many), (43) l 123—4; "Alt hundt böss pendig sindt zu machen" (You can't teach an old dog new tricks) (49) l 258; "Thüt kain schlaffen-

[7] Handschin, p 110.

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den hunt aufwecken" (Let sleeping dogs lie) (65) l 310; "Ich kan den Hunt fein lassen hincken"[8] (I know all about such things) (65) l 67.

Figurative expressions involving household pests include: (28) l 164 a man looks like a wet mouse; (42) l 62 the woman is "schlecht und ghrecht wie ein spitzmauss"; (57) l 16, "Sol ich mich den nehren mit mausen". In (49) l 174 the man is accused of not being worth a louse. Fleas are, however, more frequently mentioned: (28) l 108, "Ich will die flöch dir fein abstrelen"; (45) l 163, "Im weidlich die flöch abstreich"; (5) l 53, "Ich will euch die floh abkern"; (65) l 3—4,

„Und ge gleich in den sunnen umb
Wie der hund in den flohen krumb."

Even household utensils and clothing were included in the figurative language; (38) l 243, "Meine Frau bricht häfn, so brich ich Krüg". "So bricht er Häfn, so brich ich Krüg", (46) l 73. With reference to cloth, "Zwei Hosen eines Tuches", (5) l 168; (66) l 113; (77) l 297.

In the language of the day an expression is used which evidently was at one time a commercial idiom. It is frequently said, "Ich gib gut Pfenbert, gute Eln", (7) l 181; (14) l 12; "So salzt man mir das Pfenbert wol", (78) l 167; likewise the opposite, "Schmale pfenbert essen", (24) l 233; (42) l 363; In (19) l 176 the merchant calls the old women, "Geschlachter pfenbert zway".

CONCEPTION OF COLOR[9]

The contemporaries of Sachs apparently did not recognize gradations in color. In the Fspe of Sachs only seven colors are mentioned, red, white, yellow, black, brown, blue, and green. Even these colors do not correspond to our usage. One hears of "rote guelden", (22) l 81; "rottes gold",[10] (19) l 318; but "schwartz

[8] Handschin, p 66.

[9] For the mediaeval conception of the meaning of colors, see Gloth, Dr. Walther, „Das Spiel von den sieben Farben". Teutonia, Vol I.

[10] Murray, in the New English Dictionary, Vol VIII, p 286, refers to the use of „red gold" by Caedmon and Aelfric. Not only in the Fsp but also in the folksong and epics does one find gold always red.

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pfennig" (79) l 129; the violet is blue, (75) l 65; anger is pale and yellow; the color of a beating is black, blue, and yellow (54) l 158. There is also a tendency to describe all domestic animals as if they were of one color, the gray mule, the black cow, the black cock. Comparisons and contrasts are used in the designation of colors; "schwartz wie ein rab"; "gefärbt wie all verdorben rosen"; "du bist schneeweis wie prentes harz" (19) l 170; schneeweis hündlein (61).

SUPERSTITIONS.

Superstitions of all kinds are to be found in the Fspe, but by far the greater number refer to the black art. The practitioners of the black art are old witches, (18) l 196 ff; (63) l 115; (76) l 92; or priests, (34) l 217 ff; (41) l 160 ff; (51) l 307 ff; (69) l 174 ff; (77) l 58 ff. Among the practices are the following: alchemy, making gold out of copper and silver out of lead, (8) l 323; (83) l 6; conjuration of the devil, (18) l 196 ff; (19) l 21; (37) l 180 ff; expulsion of evil spirits,[11] (34) l 217 ff; (51) l 244; (76) l 300. In (34) l 217—232, the aid of the priest is solicited to free from evil spirits the simple peasant who tried to hatch calves from a cheese. The following incantation is used:

„Ich beschwer dich auff diesen tag,
Du Teuffl, bey aller betlers blag,
Bey aller pfaffen reinigkeyt,
Bey Schwiger und Schnur einigkeyt
Und bey aller Ehbrecher trew,
Bey aller schwartzen Magdt nach rew,
Bey aller Münich geistligkeyt,
Und bey aller Lantzkuecht frümkeyt,
Und bey aller Spiler unfal,
Und bey aller Juden jrsal,
Und aller schönen Frawen huldt,
Bey aller beginnen geduldt,
Bey aller Kauffleut warhafft schwern!
Du wolst von diesem Man ankern
In ein Wildt rhörich in Behmr walt,
Und fahr baldt aus durch diesen spalt."

In (51) l 244 ff the priest is asked by Eulenspiegel to cast out the devil of avarice form the innkeeper. The doctor (76) l 300 ff

[11] Freytag, p 187 ff recounts the casting out of spirits by an „eyewitness".

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is called upon to perform the same rite for a Jew. He uses the following charm:

„Gaist, ich peschwer dich bey pix pax,
Pey flederwisch, hering und lax,
Und das du arger Belzepock
Auffarest uber stein und stock
In das wild gerörich hinaus
Und raum mir eillent dieses haus."

In (11) the sick man is possessed of the seven deadly sins in the form of fools, the equivalent of devils. Other black art practices are: to recover lost articles, (21) l 50; (37) l 171—2; (63) l 125; (80) l 59 ff; to find hidden treasure, (37) l 176; (76) l 68; (80) l 62; to foretell the future, (80) l 68; to make weather, (19) l 144; (63) l 116.

By the use of charms many miraculous things may be done. The travelling scholar boasts that he can cure eyeache and toothache by this means, (37) l 173; similarly (77) l 63—6; charms for healing a wound are also given, (37) l 175; (63) l 119; (77) l 59; (79) l 79; (80) l 63. Other charms are for: Dobsuecht (74) l 379; Muncksuecht, (64) l 309; to detect thieves, (41) l 221—4; to win affections, (62) l 221 ff; to make a man blind, (69) l 179 ff; to make old coats new, (72) l 205 ff. A few examples will show the general nature of the charms.

(74) l 379 ff the charm for the Dobsuecht is:

„In doribus et lappibus
In dolpis et dildappibus
Dich effen mulieribus.
Du semper bleibst ein aisinus.
Sürge et stampf hin fues für fues
Dobsuecht nunquam dich lasen mües."

For the muncksucht; (64) l 309 ff:

„Male Destia in spelunckes
Thabes kümaulque et munckes
Pengel que sub schulter et lentes
Facit dein ruesel hie loquentes!"

In (63) l 225—8 the old witch, disguised as the Goddess Alraun, gives the following charm to the young matron:

„Truez, aigensin und clauibus
Widerpellen und muffibus,
Venit prügel et fawstibus
Sub capite et lentibus."

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or in German, l 231—2:

„Göttin Alraun, ich rueff dich an,
Hilfft tugenthaft machen mein man!"

Instructions are given how to make the charm effective, l 251 ff:

„Doch mügt ir vür all sorg und schrecken,
E ir ausget, ein gweicht salcz lecken
Und mit weichwasser euch pesprengen,
So kan kain gspenst sich darein mengen.
Auch nembt mit euch ein geweicht wachslicht,
Alsden gewirt euch warlich nicht."

(41) l 221—4:

„In Narribus phantastibus
Nequamque et in diebibus
Hanges in galgare Fane
Rabiquenagare pame!"

Closely related to the black art is astrology. Solomon (26) l 175 is regarded as having a knowledge of the planets. Melisso in the same play says, l 100 ff:

„Ich glaub ich sey darzu geborn
Hie auss der Planeten Einfluss."

Others references to astrology are: (10) l 87, "Kan er mir sagen mein Planeten?"; (82) l 1—2,

„Es ist hewt ein verworffner tag
Mir nach der sterenseher sag."

Similar beliefs were: faith in dreams, (18) l 5 ff; belief in the power of the gypsy (10); belief in the Plerr, mist before dawn; which made the afflicted one see double (54) l 199; (74) l 388; (77) l 182; faith in the ordeal of the hot iron, (38) l 22 ff; the belief that it was bad luck to lose a horseshoe,[12] (65) l 10; also, (80) l 112, "Ein plinter fint oft ein hufeisen", almost the equivalent of "a fool for luck". Fabulous creatures mentioned include mermaids, (19) l 261; (85) l 56; werwolf,[13] (36) l 169.

RELIGION

Although a staunch supporter of Luther, Sachs in his Fspe has little to say concerning religious questions of the day. As men-

[12] Bartels, p 51. The horseshoe was placed on posts of the stalls to keep away bad spirits.

[13] Bartels, p 73.

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tioned before, it was only in (53) that he really made an attack against the Catholic church. He does show, however, that the church was not greatly respected. The saints are often used disrespectfully, often in oaths: St. Veltin, (12) l 110; (31) l 252; St. Merten, (12) l 245; St. Jacob, (19) l 102; St. Kolbman (38) l 228; St. Stolperin, (69) l 179.

The religious orders were no more highly respected than the priests and saints themselves. The Kartheuser order is most frequently mentioned, and always in a light vein: (4) l 368; (6) l 184; (8) l 118; (17) l 36; (49) l 182; (69) l 202; Dockmeuser is usually made the rhyme with Kartheuser, (6) l 183; (8) l 119; (49) l 181. In (12) l 228 ff the nine "geistlich orden" are used to symbolize the nine stages of married life.

The peasants in (65) and (67) have absolutely no respect for the church or God himself. The widow in (40) l 116, who uses the church as a trysting place, is no better.

The frequent references which Sachs makes to the Bible must indicate, however, that in general the people were fairly well versed in the scriptures. The deity himself was looked upon as an avenger (3) l 308, and also in (67) l 250 ff, where peasants who have failed to respect God are punished.

As far as belief in an afterlife is concerned, in only one instance is anything definite said. The röbbers in (70) l 106 ff believe that after man dies he is dead, the same as any other animal, and that there is neither God or Devil.

CONCLUSION

In this study I have considered the Fspe of Hans Sachs from only one point of view: how they reveal the social history of the times. I have not attempted a critical discussion of the Fspe as plays, but I have endeavored to show how faithfully Sachs has portrayed his contemporaries, especially those with whom he came in daily contact. If his characterization has been superior to that of his predecessors, it is due, I believe, to his greater insight into human nature. Even in his caricatures the exaggerations are founded on basic traits. Throughout his plays he has been as

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significant in revealing the unchangeableness of human nature as he has in showing how the sixteenth century lived. It is not strange, then, that Sachs should in many respects stamp himself as a modern rather than mediaeval. He is typical of the reformer of every age, although he has, perhaps, more humanity than is characteristic of the class. His attack on the dance, gambling, and immorality is severe but conscientious. His ideas on the woman question are advanced: he is a practical Christian and believes that love should be the foundation of happiness, and that woman is man's equal, with reservations. Pretense is to him one of the deadly sins, and, notwithstanding his belief in the nobility of the human soul, he does not approve of one class attempting to imitate the more fortunate, as it can only mean failure and unhappiness. He has the mediaeval lack of curiosity about science, and does not seem to be concerned with the problem of man's destiny. No modern could object to his practical eye and his disdain for beauty in itself. However, he is honest about it; he writes about nature the way that most people really feel — that birds, bees, and flowers are either useful or pests, and that the human being is the only creature that is divine.

Even his people have not changed much since the sixteenth century. Almost all of them exist today and they differ only superficially from their prototypes. The failure of those in authority to do their duty by those under them, the temptation for those in a lofty position to take advantage of it for the sake of gain, and the consequent rebellion on the part of the underlings, are all as characteristic of the twentieth century as of the sixteenth. Prejudices are just as acute, and it is a coincidence, perhaps, that his peasants and small tradesmen are especially bitter against the Jew and the Catholic. The farmer has better external conditions, to be sure, but his language is overcharged with agricultural idioms and there is little difference in their breadth of vision and that of the peasant in Sachs. The servants have changed their ideal of a hero. The Lanzknecht is passe, but he has been replaced by the moving-picture idol and the athletic hero, surely no improvement. The common laborer in his off hours is as bold in his talk and as

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uncouth as the servants of Sachs, who are supposed to be merely types. We call witches by an other name, perhaps, but the rogue and the prostitute have not advanced so far in their professions that we would but trust the vagabonds of Sachs to hold their own in any company.

Similar examples could be cited with respect to the other types, but even a brief survey of the classes will disclose that Sachs, if not subtle in his characterizations, has brought to light many of the traits that are the stuff of everyday life.

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